

ATHENIAN LETTERS:
OR, THE
EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE
OF
AN AGENT OF THE KING OF PERSIA,
RESIDING AT ATHENS DURING THE PELOPONNESIAN
WAR.

A NEW EDITION;
TO WHICH IS ADDED A GEOGRAPHICAL
INDEX.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

BASIL: printed and sold by **JAMES DECKER.**

STRASBURGH: sold by **F. G. LEVRAULT.**

1800.

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Sp. 64

938.05

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Printed and sold by James Decker:
STATIONER: 101 by E. C. Leveque.

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OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

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- A.**
- Abæ.** A town of Phocis, in which was an oracular temple of Apollo, enriched by costly offerings, and more ancient than that of Delphi; it was burnt by the Persians in the invasion of Xerxes, but its oracles were still in repute in the time of Herodotus.
- Abdera.** A very ancient town of Thrace, situated near the coast of the Aegean sea on the eastern side of the mouth of the Nestus, and opposite the island of Thasus; said to have been founded either by Hercules or by the sister of Diomedes; and after having fallen into decay to have been re-peopled by a colony from Clazomenæ, and, at a later period, by a colony of Teians.
- Abydus.** A town of Troas, built by the Milesians on the shore of the narrowest part of the Hellespont opposite to Sestos.
- Abydus.** A town of Upper Aegypt on the western side of the Nile, in the Thinitic nome, containing the celebrated palace of Memnon, and a magnificent temple of Osiris: it was the next town in splendor to Thebes, but had become ruinous as early as the age of Strabo.
- Acanthus.** A town of Athamania, which, according to Strabo, is a district of Epirus.
- Acarnania.** The most western country of Greece, extending along the coast of the Ionian sea, separated from Epirus by the Sinus Ambraeus, and from Aetolia by the river Achelous.
- Achaia.** A country of the Peloponnesus, extending from Sicyon westward to the extremity of the Sinus Corinthiacus, and from thence along the coast to the promontory Araxus, the boundary of Elis.

Acharnæ. An inland town of Attica belonging to the tribe of Oeneis, the largest of those that were called *Δημοί*.

Achelous. A river whose source is in mount Pindus; it flows southwards through the country of the Agræi and the Amphilochi, and divides Aetolia from Acarnania.

Acherusia. A lake in Thesprotia, a province of Epirus, through which the river Achæron discharges itself into the sea, nearly opposite the southern point of the island of Coreyra.

Acrocorinthus. A mountain which served as a citadel to Corinth, and was inclosed within its walls, except those parts which were too steep to be built on. On its summit was a temple of Venus, and a little lower the fountain Pirene.

Ægium. A town of Acarnania on the south eastern side of the strait that leads into the Sinus Ambracius; celebrated for the goodness of its harbour, and for the temple of Ælian Apollo.

Adramyttium. An Athenian colony with a port and arsenal, on the coast of the Greater Mysia opposite Lesbos.

Ægean Sea. Bounded by the coasts of Greece and Macedonia on the west, and the coast of Asia Minor on the east; extends northward to the Hellespont, and southward (according to some geographers, who consider the Myrtoan, Cretan, Carpathian, and Icarian seas as parts of it) to the island of Crete. Others, as Strabo, make the promontory of Sunium in Attica its southern limit.

Ægina. An island in the Sinus Saronicus, opposite the Piræus, at about twenty miles distance.

Ægypt, (properly so called, for some geographers comprehend, under this name, parts of Lybia, Marmarica, and other conquests of the Egyptian kings) extends from Philæ and Elephantine, built on islands in the Nile and Syene, under the tropic of Cancer, along both banks of the Nile to the Mediterranean sea. The great divisions of it were two, according

to some authors, Upper and Lower Egypt; three according to others, Thebais, Heptanomis, Delta. The first and third of these were subdivided, each into ten nomes or prefectures; the second, into seven by Ptolemy, as its name imports; into sixteen by Strabo, who, instead of Heptanomis, calls it *ἡμετέριον χωρά*; but he enumerates several that do not belong to Egypt Proper. On the east of the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile it touches Palestine and Arabia Petræa. The last town towards the former was probably Ostracine, at the outlet of the Palus Sirbonis; towards the latter Heroopolis, at the extremity of the Arabian gulf.

Alpheus. A river flowing from Arcadia, through Elis, into the Mare Ionium.

Ambracia. A colony of the Corinthians in Thesprotia, a district of Epirus. It stands at the mouth of the Arachthus or Arethron, and gives its name to the Sinus Ambracius.

Amphipolis. An Athenian colony, referred by some geographers to Macedon, by others to Thrace; being situated on an island formed by the Strymon, which divides those two kingdoms.

Anactorium. A town built by a Corinthian colony in Acarnania, on the Sinus Ambracius.

Anaphlystus. A maritime *δημος* of Attica, according to Strabo; inland, according to Ptolemy, probably a little to the northward of Phalerum.

Agradates, or *Cyrus*. A river in Persia, which falls into the Persian gulf, towards the eastern end of it.

Andania. The ancient metropolis of Messenia, built by Polycaon, son of Lelex,

Agrigentum, or *Acragas*, by Polycaon, son of Lelex,

the first king of the country; sits between the desert of deserted after the defeat of Palmyra and the Chaldean Aristomenes at the battle of mountains.

the Trenches.

Andros. Vide *Cyclades*.

Antæus. The capital of the northern nome of the Thebais, on the eastern side of the Nile, to which it gives the name of the Antæopolitic nome.

Anthemus. A town and district of Macedonia, probably to the eastward of Mygdonia.

Arabia. A very extensive peninsula in Asia, bounded on the west by the Sinus Arabicus, or Red Sea; on the east by the Sinus Persicus, and on the south by the part of the Mare Erythræum that lies between them. It is divided into Arabia Felix, Arabia Petræa, and Arabia Deserta. Arabia Felix occupies almost the whole of the peninsula; the other districts, comparatively small, bound it on the north, and extend a little above the extremities of the two gulfs.

Arabia Petræa lies along the eastern and southern frontiers of Palestine; and Arabia De-

Araxes. A river of Persia that falls into the Persian gulf.

Arcadia. A state in the centre of the Peloponnesus.

Areopolis. A town of Arabia Petræa on the eastern bank of the Arnon.

Argæia, or Argolis. A state in the Peloponnesus bounded on the west by Arcadia, on the north by the Corinthian territory, on the south by

Laconia, on the east by the Saronic and Argolic gulfs, from Prusiæ, or more probably from Temenium, to the Portus Bucephalus inclusive.

Argos. The principal inland town of Argolis near the river Inachus.

Argos Amphilochicum, called also *Argia.* A town built in Acarnania on the Sinus Ambracius by an Argive colony under the conduct of Amphilochus, the son of Amphiaræus.

Aria. A large province of the Persian empire, its limits uncertain. Aria Proper seems to have been bounded by

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

Parthia and Carmania Deserta Propontis, on the west by to the west, Drangiana to the Aegean, on the south the south, the Paropamisadæ by the Mediterranean, on to the east, Bactriana and the east by the river Halys Margiana to the north. and Mount Taurus. It con-

Armenia, the Greater, tained, towards the Euxine bounded by Armenia the Less and Propontis, Paphlagonia, and the Euphrates on the Bithynia, Mysia, the Greater west, by Mount Taurus, and the Less, and the Hellespontian Phrygia, which separates it from Mesopotamia, on the south, by included Troas; towards the the two Medias on the east, Aegean, Aeolis, Ionia, Caria; towards the Mediterranean, Lycia. The country and by Albania and Iberia on the north.

Armenia, the Less, was surrounded by these districts surrounded by Armenia the Greater, Cappadocia, Pontus, and the Pontus Cappadocius; its limits are very imperfectly ascertained. bore the general name of Phrygia Magna, comprehending the subdivisions of Gallogræcia, or Galatia, Lycaonia, Lydia, and a district

Arnon. A river of Arabia since called Phrygia Epictetos, which extended along Petraea.

Arfinoe. A town of Lower Egypt, which gives its name to the nome in which it stands, called anciently the city of Crocodiles. the southern frontier of Bithynia, and round Mount Olympus in Mysia. This is Strabo's division of Asia Minor, though he elsewhere

Artemisium. A promontory assigns this last mentioned on the northern coast of Eubœa. district to the Lesser Phrygia, which he says consisted of

Ascrea. A village at the foot of Mount Helicon in Bœotia. the Hellepontian Phrygia, and of Phrygia Epictetos.

Asia minor. A vast peninsula bounded on the north by the Euxine sea and the Other geographers arrange it differently. It seems uncertain whether Pisidia is to

be assigned to the Lesser or Greater Asia. and Semiramis, carried to its utmost splendor by Ne-

Asopus. A river of Bœotia, which falls into the Euripus between Oropus and Tanagra. buchadnezzar, dismantled by Darius, defaced by Xerxes, partly demolished by the Ma-

Affyria Proper. Bounded on the north by the Greater Armenia, and the mountain Niphates, on the west by the Tigris and Mesopotamia, on the south by Susiana, on the east by Media, and the mountains Choatra and Za-

grus.

Athens. The capital of Attica. Babylonia. A large province of the Persian empire, separated from Arabia De-

Athos. A mountain situated on a peninsula of the Regio Chalcidica, between the Sinus Strymonicus and Sinus Singiticus. ferta on the west by the Chaldean mountains, from Mesopotamia on the north by the Euphrates, from Susiana on the east by the Eu-

Attica. A Grecian state, having Megaris on the west, Bœotia on the north, the Sinus Saronicus on the south, and the Aegean sea on the east. phrates and Tigris after their junction, and bounded on the south by Arabia Felix and the Persian gulf.

B.

Babylon. One of the most ancient cities in the world; founded by Nimrod on the great western branch of the Euphrates, enlarged by Belus

Babyca. The Delphic *Pythia* respecting the constitution of the Lacedæmonian senate, recited in Plutarch's life of Lyncurgus, enjoined that the general assemblies of the senate and people should be held between Babyca and Cnacion. Plutarch

adds, ¹ that the Babyca and the Cnacion were in his time called Oenûs; (which determines the situation to have been south-east of Sparta; for Polybius speaks of the Oenûs, as flowing through a plain between the hills Eva and Olympus, and of the high road to Sparta, as lying along its bank). In the life of Pelopidas, Plutarch says, ² the Greeks were then first taught that it was not the Eurotas and the soil between Babyca and Cnacion which produced good foldiers, &c. These passages seem to imply that the Babyca and Cnacion were two rivers, or different branches of the same river, but immediately after the first of them follows, ³ Aristotle, however, calls the Cnacion a river, and the Babyca a bridge.

Bactria, or *Bactriana*. A province of the Persian empire, bounded on the west by the province of Margiana, on the north by the river Oxus, on the east by the Massagetæ and Scythians, on the south by the ridges of the mountain Paropamisus.

Barce. A town on the west-side of the Cyrenaic Pentapolis, about twelve miles from the sea, but having a port where Ptolemais was afterwards built.

Bæotia. A Grecian state, bounded by the territory of the Locri Opuntii on the north, by Phocis on the west, by Attica on the south, and by the Euripus, which separates it from Eubœa, on the east.

Bottia. A small maritime district of Macedonia, bounded by Aemathia on the west, by the Sinus Thermaicus on

¹ Την δε Βαβυκαν, καὶ τον Κνακιωνα νυν Οινουνῆα προσαγορευουσιν.

² Εκείνη δε μάχη πρώτη καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐδίδασκεν Ἕλληνας, ὡς ἔχ' ὁ Ευρώτας, ἔδ' ὁ μέλας Βαβυκας καὶ Κνακιωνος τοπος ἀνδρωπῆς ἐκφέρει μαχητας καὶ πολεμικῆς, κ. λ.

³ Ἀριστοτέλης δε τον μεν Κνακιωνα, ποταμον· την δε Βαβυκαν, γεφυραν.

the east, separated from the the Pontus, the other inland;
 Regio Amphaxitis on the its limits at that period were
 north by the river Axius, unknown in the time of
 and from Pieria on the south Strabo.
 by the Ludias.

Bubastus, or *Bubastis*. A Caria. A maritime pro-
 vince of Asia minor, bounded
 town on the eastern bank to the west and south by the
 of the eastern branch of the Aegean and Mediterranean
 Nile, to which and to the seas. Its inland boundaries
 adjacent district it gives its are not easily ascertained,
 name. It seems to have re- having frequently varied. It
 ceived its own from the Ae- was, perhaps, originally se-
 gyptian deity, Bubastis, sup- parated from Lydia by the
 posed by the Greeks to be Meander, and from Lycia
 the same with their Diana. by the Xanthus.

Byblus. A town of Phœni- Carmania Proper. A pro-
 cia on an eminence near the vince of the Persian empire.
 sea; the royal residence of It has Persia on the west, a
 Cinyras, and sacred to Ado- part of the Persian and Indian
 nis. seas, sometimes called Mare
 Carmanium, on the south,
 Gedrosia on the east, Car-

C.

Cadmæa. The citadel of mania Deserta (beyond which
 Thebes, so called from its is Parthia) on the north.
 founder Cadmus.

Cadusia. A mountainous Carthage. The capital of
 district in the north western Zeugitana, a district of Africa
 part of Media, bordering on Proper, built on a peninsula
 the Caspian sea. forty-five miles in circum-
 ference, and joined to the

Cappadocia. A large district continent by an isthmus about
 in the peninsula of Asia to three miles broad.
 the east of the Halys; divided *Carya*. A town of Laconia
 by the Persians into two Sa- on the confines of Messenia.
 trapies, one maritime, ex- Diana had the name of Ca-
 tending along the shore of ryatis from a temple, and a
 festival

festival held there in honor of her.

Casius. A mountain in Aegypt, between the Eastern or Pelusiæ mouth of the Nile, and the Palus Sirbonis.

Caunus. A sea-port town in the Peræa Rhodiorum, a district of Caria, situated at the mouth of the river Calbis.

Cenchrea. Vide CORINTH.

Cephissus. A river of Phocis, which loses itself in the lake Copais.

Cephissus. A river of Attica which falls into the Sinus Saronicus, between the Piræus and Eleufis.

Chalcis. The principal town in Eubœa, situated in a kind of peninsula opposite Aulis.

Chaonia. The northern division of Epirus, separated from Illyricum by the Acroceraunian mountains, bounded on the west by the Ionian sea, on the south by Thesprotia, on the east by Molossis.

Chelidonian Isles. Three small rocky islands in the Mediterranean, about midway between Rhodes and Cyprus; they divided the Lygian sea from the Pamphylian.

Chemmis, or *Chennis*. A

town of Upper Aegypt; the birth-place of Perseus, who was worshipped there; situated, according to Herodotus, in the Thebaic nome; in the Panopolitic, according to Diodorus and Plutarch, who suppose it to be the same with Panopolis.

Chena. A town or village on Mount Oeta, in the early age of Greece; the birth-place of Myson, (the son of Ariston,) substituted by Plato, in his list of the seven sages, for Periander of Corinth.

Chios. An island of the Aegean sea, near the coast of Ionia.

Chnubis. A town of Upper Aegypt, on the eastern side of the Nile, in the Thebaic nome.

Cilicia. A large district extending along the southern coast of the peninsula of Asia from Pamphylia to Syria, inclosed by Mount Taurus to the west and north, and Mount Amanus to the east, accessible only by narrow passes through these mountains; divided into Cilicia Aspera towards Pamphylia, and Cilicia Campestris towards

Syria, bounded on the south by the Mediterranean sea.

Cirrhæ. A town in the south-western part of Phocis, on the Corinthian gulf, near the confines of the Locri Ozolæ.

Cirta. The metropolis of Numidia Proper.

Claros. A grove and temple sacred to Apollo, and probably a town also, situated between Lebedos and Colophon, on the southern side of the isthmus of the peninsula of Ionia.

Cnacion. Vide BABYCA.

Cnidus. A maritime town, at the south-western point of the peninsula of Doris in Caria.

Colchis. A country at the eastern extremity of the Pontus Euxinus, extending, according to Ptolemy, from Pityüs on the river Corax to the Phasis; according to Strabo, from Pityüs to Trapezüs.

Colonos. An eminence and village near Athens, with a grove and temple sacred to the Furies, in which Oedipus is said to have sought an asylum when he was banished from Thebes: it was called

Equestrian from altars built there to Equestrian Neptune and Equestrian Minerva; monuments were afterwards erected to Theseus, Pirithous, Oedipus, and Adrastus.

Coptos. A town in Upper Egypt, on the eastern side of the Nile, which gives its name to the Coptite nome.

Coreyra. An island in the Ionian sea, separated by a narrow strait from Theprotia, the southern district of Epirus.

Corinth. A powerful commercial city on the south-west part of the isthmus which joins the Peloponnesus to the continent of Greece; it had two ports, the Lechæum, at the distance of a mile and half, immediately under the city, and connected with it by walls, from which its trade to the westward, through the Corinthian gulf, was carried on; and Cenchreæ, at about nine miles distance on the Saronic gulf, from whence their ships sailed to Asia and Egypt.

Cos. An island near the coast of Caria, at the entrance of the bay of Halicarnassus.

Crete. The largest of the Greek islands, about fifty miles in breadth, and two hundred and seventy in length, situated between the Aegean and Cyrenaic seas, and extending from the Peloponnesus to the confines of Asia.

Crissa. A maritime town of Phocis, a little to the south-east of Delphi.

Crissæan Gulf. Sometimes confounded with the Corinthian Gulf, which extends from the Strait of Antirrhium to the isthmus, but properly that recess of it which runs up northward to the town of Crissa.

Croton. A maritime town of Græcia Magna, on the Ionian sea, near the promontory of Lacinium, in the territory of the Bruttii; very populous, and twelve miles in circumference till the invasion of Pyrrhus, during which half of it was laid waste, so that the part that continued to be inhabited was at a considerable distance from the channel of the Aesacus, which before passed through the middle of the town.

Cuma, or Cyme. A maritime town, the metropolis of Oeolis, said to have been built by Pelops on his return from Greece, after his victory over Oenomaus.

Cyanean Islands, or Symplegades. Two small rocky islands in the Pontus Euxinus, near the entrance of the Bosphorus; they are a somewhat less than a league distant from each other, and the imaginary line that divides Europe from Asia passes between them.

Cyclades. A cluster of islands in the Aegean sea, so called from respecting Delos as their centre, though far from being accurately so. They were originally twelve, afterwards several more were accounted to them. The twelve, according to Strabo, were Ceos, Cythnus, Seriphus, Melus, Siphnus, Cimo-lus, Naxus, Parus, Syrus, Myconus, Tenus, Andrus.

Cyprus. A large island, situated in the angle formed by the junction of the peninsula of Asia with the continent; surrounded by the Aegyptian and Pamphylian seas, and the gulf of Issus;

opposite to Cilicia on the north, and to Syria on the east.

Cyrene. The capital of the Cyrenaic region on the coast of Africa, about ten miles inland from the town of Apollonia, which was its port; said to have been founded by Battus, who conducted a colony from Thera, an island in the Cretan sea, belonging to Laconia.

Cyropolis. A town on the Caspian sea, in the north-western part of Media.

Cyrta. An inland town of Numidia Proper, a little to the east of the river Ampsaga.

Cyrtæa. Spoken of by Ctesias, (in Pers. c. 39,) as *πολις ἐν τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ εἰς τὴν ὑπερωρίσιν Ἀρταξερξῆς Μεγαβύζον.*

Cyrus. A large river passing through Iberia and Albania, and falling into the Caspian sea.

Cythera. An island separated from Malea, the southern promontory of Laconia, by a channel about five miles wide, of great importance to Sparta from its excellent harbour near the town of Scandæa, where they had a garrison and an arsenal.

D.

Damascus. The metropolis of Syria, situated near the source of the Chrysorrhœas, in Cœlesyria Proper.

Delos. Vide CYCLADES.

Delphi. An inland town in Phocis, about ten miles from the sea, situated on the ascent of the mountain Parnassus.

Dera. A village in Messenia.

Dodona. A town of Epirus on the confines of Molossis and Thesprotia, attributed sometimes to the one, sometimes to the other.

Dolopia. A district of Thesaly, according to Homer and Strabo, north-west of Pthia; there is also a Dolopia mentioned by Thucydides, under Mount Pindus, on the confines of Epirus, near the source of the Achelous.

Doris. A Grecian state, a small rocky district, situated at the foot of the mountains Pindus and Oeta, and between the rivers Achelous and Pindus. It contained the four towns of Erineus, Bojum, Pindus, and Cytinium, called the Dorica Tetrapolis.

Doris. A peninsula of Caria, extending where it joins the continent from Halicarnassus to Caunus; both of which are contained within it, according to Ptolemy.

E.

Ecbatana. The metropolis of Media, said to have been built by Semiramis, enlarged and fortified by Dejoces, and, after having fallen into decay, restored by Seleucus.

Ecbatana. Pliny speaks of a town of this name in Persia, inhabited by the Magi, and transferred with its inhabitants, to the hill country by Darius.

Eion. A city of Thrace, at the mouth of the eastern branch of the river Strymon.

Elatea. The largest town in Phocis, at least the next in size to Delphi. The Cephissus flowed through it.

Elbo. An island in the fens of Aegypt, ten stadia in circumference, said to have been formed with mud and cinders, which the subjects of the blind king Anytis, who supplied him with food during his fifty years con-

cealment, conveyed thither secretly at his request. The successors of Anytis endeavoured in vain to find this island, but it was discovered above seven hundred and fifty years afterwards by Amyrtæus, and served him as a place of refuge, after his unsuccessful attempt to deliver his country from the dominion of Artaxerxes Longimanus.

Elephantine. Vide **ÆGYPT.**

Eleufis. A town on the Cephifus between Athens and Megara, where was the famous temple of Ceres, in which the Eleufinian mysteries were celebrated.

Elis. A state in the Peloponnesus, having the Ionian fea on the weft, Achaia on the north, Arcadia on the east, Melfenia on the fouth.

Ephefus. A magnificent town of Ionia near the mouth of the Cayfter, said to have been founded by the Amazons. Herodotus attributes it to Lydia, either becaufe Ionia had been fubject to the kings of Lydia, or becaufe Lydia Proper had extended to the fea before an

Ionian colony took possession of the coast. The superb temple of Diana stood between the town and the port.

Ephyra. The ancient name of Corinth.

Ephyra. The name of a town, called also Cichyrus, in Thesprotia, near the mouth of the river Achæron.

Epidamnus. The first town in that part of Illyria which, being civilized by the admixture of Grecian colonies, was called Grecian Illyria, and extended along the coast between Barbaric Illyria and Epirus, from Epidamnus to Aulon inclusive.

Epidaurus. A town of Argolis, on the coast of the Saronic gulf, celebrated for the worship and temple of Aesculapius.

Epidaurus. A town of Dalmatia, on the coast of the Adriatic sea, opposite the island of Corcyra nigra.

Eretria. A very ancient and opulent town on the western side of the island of Eubœa, next in size to Chalcis.

Ethiopia. Under this name was comprehended the whole breadth of Africa, to the

south of Aegypt, and of the Libyan desert. It was distinguished into Ethiopia above Aegypt, Western Ethiopia, and Interior Ethiopia. The first extended from Syene along the shores of the Arabian gulf and the Indian ocean, as far as the promontory of Prasium in south latitude, and west-ward of the Nile to the frontier of the Interior Libya and the Garamantes. Western Ethiopia lay on the Atlantic ocean, from seven or eight degrees north of the equator, to an undefined distance south of it. A vast unexplored country between these was called by the general name of Interior Ethiopia.

Eubœa. An island divided by a very narrow strait from the coasts of Attica, Bœotia, and Locris; about an hundred and fifty miles in length, and forty in breadth where it is widest; terminated at the southern end by the promontory Geræsus, which points towards Attica, and Caphareus, which points towards the Hellespont; at the northern end, by the

promontories Cenæum and Artemisium.

Eulaus. A river that rises in Media, flows in a south-westerly direction through Susiana, and encircles the walls of Susa. It falls into the Persian gulf to the eastward of the mouth of the Tigris, and is thought, on good grounds, to be the same with the Choaspes.

Euphrates. A large river, which passes through the ridge of Mount Taurus to the westward of the town of Edessa, and after a course, for the most part southerly, through Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Chaldæa, receives the Tigris, and falls into the Persian gulf. Its channel, before it reaches the pass of the Taurus, is differently laid down by Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny, and Mela. It is agreed that it rises in the Greater Armenia, but some place its source immediately behind the ridge of the Taurus, and suppose it to take a westerly course, following that of the mountain, till, meeting with a barrier, it is turned southward, and forces its way

through the pass. Others say that it rises in the northern part of Armenia, and, after a westerly course of some length, turns to the south long before it reaches Mount Taurus. As it is composed, like the Nile, of a numerous assemblage of streams, and does not take the name of Euphrates till it reaches Edessa, it is possible that different geographers, who have traced its course on the north side of Taurus, have fixed on different streams as the original river.

Europus. A town on the eastern bank of the Axios, on the confines of Mygdonia and Pelagonia.

Eurotas. A river, the source of which is on the eastern side of the town of Asea in Arcadia. It flows south-eastward through Laconia, passes on the east side of Sparta, and falls into the Laconic gulf, opposite the island of Cranæ.

G.

Gabæ. A town of Persia on the borders of Carmania, and one of the royal residences,

situated, about twenty-five miles from the sea, on the river Granis or Bagrada.

Gaza. A town of Gabaza, a district of Sogdiana, between the Oxus and Jaxartes, or Tanais.

Granis. Vide *GABAE*.

Grestonia. A district annexed to Macedon by conquest, to the northward of Mygdonia and Pelagonia.

Gyges. Lake of; adjoining to the sepulchre of Alyattis, the father of Cræsus, and distant about five miles from Sardis.

H.

Hæmus. A vast ridge of mountains, extending from the frontiers of Illyricum to the Pontus Euxinus, and dividing Thrace from the Lower Mœsia; some points of it are said to be so high that both the Adriatic and Euxine seas may be seen from them.

Halicarnassus. The principal town of Caria, within the peninsula of Doris; said to have been founded by a colony from Træzen in Argolis, under the conduct of

Anthes, or his son Aëtius, celebrated for its opulence, its port and citadel, and for containing the tomb of Mausolus.

Halys. The largest river of Asia Minor; its source is in the south-western part of Cappadocia, and its course north-westerly to the Euxine sea, dividing Galatia and Paphlagonia from Cappadocia and Pontus.

Heliopolis. A town in the Lower Aegypt, south-east of the vertex of the Delta, celebrated for its temple of the Sun, and for the worship of the ox Mnevis.

Heliopolis. A town in the north-west part of Cælesyria Proper, near the source of the Orontes.

Hellespont. A strait which separates Asia from Europe, and connects the Aegean sea with the Propontis. About the middle of it, on the European side, stood Sestus, and, at the entrance of the Propontis, Callipolis. On the Asiatic side, opposite to these respectively, were the towns of Abydus and Lampfacus.

Helos,

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

LXVI

Helos. A maritime town of Laconia, near the mouth of the Eurotas. It was taken by the Spartans, and its inhabitants were made slaves to the Spartan community, principally for the purposes of agriculture. The name of Helot was afterwards extended to other captives who were reduced to the same condition, particularly the Messenians.

Heraclea. A town in the territory of the Trachinii, a people of Pthiotis, built by a colony from Lacedæmon in the course of the Peloponnesian war. It stood on the north side of the Spercheus, about two miles and a half from the sea. The Lacedæmonians also formed docks in its neighbourhood, just at the entrance of the pass of Thermopylæ, and opposite Cenæum, the north western promontory of Eubœa.

Heraclea. A town in Lucania, on the northern side of the mouth of the river Aciris, which falls into the bay of Tarentum.

Hercyna is said to have been a nymph, from whose

hands a goose escaped, while she was playing with Proserpine in the grove of Trophœus; the bird took shelter under a stone in a cavern; on moving the stone, water burst out from two sources, and formed a stream, which was called Hercyna, from the name of the nymph; the sources were named, one, the Fountain of Memory, the other of Oblivion.

Hermopolis. The name of two cities in Egypt, distinguished by the appellation of Great and Small; the former, in the Heptanomis, at some distance from the western bank of the Nile, gives its name to the Hermopolitic nome; the latter is in Lower Egypt, on the western side of the Canopic branch.

Hymettus. A mountain of Attica, near Athens, celebrated for its honey, and for quarries of the finest marble.

Hyrcania. A province of the Persian empire, extending along the coast of the Caspian or Hyrcanian sea, from Media westward to the Oxus. Bounded on the south by Parthia, on the east by Margiana.

I.

Idomene, or *Idomenæ*. The name of a town in Amathia, on the northern bank of the *Axius*: also of two hillocks, with a narrow pass between them.

Idumæa Proper. A district of Arabia Petræa, extending northward to the countries of Moab and Judæa. During the captivity of the Jews, the Idumæans possessed themselves of the country between the Mediterranean and the lake Asphaltites, as high as Hebron, which from thence is sometimes called the Upper Idumæa.

Ilissus. A river of Attica, which passes on the eastern side of Athens, and having joined the Eridanus, which passes on the western side, a little below the town, falls into the Saronic gulf between Munychia and Phalerum.

India. A country in Asia of great extent, divided into India within the Ganges, and India beyond the Ganges. The former, according to Ptolemy, is bounded by the country of the Paropamisadæ, Arachosia, and Gedrosia on

the west, the mountain Imäus on the north, the Ganges on the east, and the Indian ocean on the south. Other geographers make the river Indus the western boundary. The latter has the Ganges on the west, Scythia and Serica on the north, the region of the Sinæ on the east, and the Indian ocean on the south.

Indus. A river which rises in the mountain Paropamisus, receives nineteen other streams, and flows with a south-west course to the Indian ocean.

Ionia. A Grecian colony on the coast of Asia Minor, comprehending also the islands of Samos and Chios, and containing twelve considerable towns; of which Phocæa is the northernmost, and Miletus the southernmost. Ptolemy confines it within the rivers Hermus and Meander.

Ire. A maritime town of Messenia, on the confines of Laconia, called afterwards Abia.

Ithaca. An island in the Ionian sea, between Cephalonia and the coast of Aetolia.

Ithome. A mountain of

Messenia, said to have received its name from one of the nurses of Jupiter. Also a town of the same name near the foot of the mountain, destroyed by the Spartans in the twenty-fourth Olympiad, but afterwards rebuilt. When the Messenian exiles were restored by Epaminondas, the new metropolis, Messene, seems to have been built on the site of Ithome, or adjoining to it, and the two towns to have been inclosed by a common wall. A part of the mountain was also taken in, and formed into a citadel like the Acrocorinthus.

Judæa. Used in an extended sense for the whole of Palestine, and bounded on the west by the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean sea, on the north by Syria, on the east by Cælesyria, on the south by Arabia Petræa.

L

Lacedæmon. The metropolis of Laconia, on the western side of the Eurotas.

Laconia. A state in the Peloponnesus, bounded on the west by Messenia, on the

north by Arcadia and Argolis, on the east by the Sinus Argolicus, on the south by the Sinus Laconicus. It extends along the coast from Prasæ to the promontory of Tænarus.

Lampsaecus. A town on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont, at the entrance of the Propontis.

Latmos. A town and mountain on the coast of Caria according to Ptolemy; of Ionia according to others, it being north of Miletus. The town was afterwards called Heraclæa.

Lebadea, or *Lebadia*. A town of Bœotia on the confines of Phocis, where was the oracle of Trophonius.

Lechaum. Vide CORINTH.

Leontini, or *Leontium*. A town on the eastern side of Sicily near the sea, between Syracuse and Catana.

Lesbos. An island near the coast of Asia Minor, inhabited by the Aeolians, and said to be named from Lesbos, a grandson of Aeolus.

Leucadia. A peninsula of Acarnania in the time of Homer, and probably as late as the Peloponnesian war;

afterwards made an island by cutting through the isthmus.

Locris. A district of Greece divided by the mountain Parnassus into Hither Locris, or the country of the Locri Ozolæ, between Aetolia and Phocis, and Farther Locris, which extends to Thermopylæ and along the Euripus of Eubœa. This latter is subdivided into the country of the Locri Opuntii along the Euripus, and the Locri Epizephidii, more northward, near the mountain Cnemis.

Lydia Proper, anciently called Mæonia. A country of Asia Minor, bounded by Ionia on the west, Mysia on the north, Phrygia on the east, and Caria on the south. Under this name are sometimes comprehended the whole dominions of Cræsus, which extended to the Halys.

M.

Macedonia. Upper Macedonia was a mountainous country inhabited by numerous tribes, of which the Lyncestæ and Elimiotæ were the most powerful; but the others, though allies and sub-

ordinate to these, had each a separate government. Lower Macedonia, to the east of the former, was subject to kings of Argive extraction, who at first fled thither for an asylum, and gradually usurped the sovereignty. They soon extended their dominions to the sea, by the conquest of Pieria and Bottiæa; they also possessed themselves of a narrow tract of Pæonia along the Axios, of Mygdonia from the Axios to the Strymon, of Edonia, Eordia, and Almo-

pia, Anthemus, Grestonia, and Bifaltia; all of which, as it accrued, they comprehended under the general name of Macedonia. The country, therefore, had Upper Macedonia on the west; beyond which was Illyria, mount Hæmus, and the Strymon on the north, the Chalcidic region and Thermaic gulf on the east, and Thessaly on the south.

Magdolum. The name of two towns in Egypt, one on the western side of the Arabian gulf not far from the extremity of it, the other a little to the south of Pelusium.

Magnesia. A peninsula between the gulfs of Therma and Pagasa, subject to Thesfaly, and bounded by it on the western side.

Malea. A promontory at the southern end of the island of Lesbos.

Marathon. One of the *Δημοί* of Attica to the north-east of Athens, near the shore of the Euripus.

Media. A large country in Asia, bounded on the west by the Greater Armenia, on the north by the Caspii Cadusii and the Caspian Sea, on the east by Hyrcania and Parthia, on the south by Persia, Susiana, and part of Assyria.

Megaris. A small state of Greece on the Saronic gulf, between the Athenian and Corinthian territories.

Melos. Vide CYCLADES.

Memphis. A large and populous town of Egypt, on the western side of the Nile in the Heptanomis, not far from the vertex of the Delta.

Mendes. A town in the Delta, near the Mendesian mouth of the Nile, to which it gives its name.

Messenia. A state of the

Peloponnesus, extending along the coast from the promontory of Tænarus to the town of Cyparissa, and bounded by Laconia, Arcadia, and Elis.

Messana. A town in Sicily, situated on the strait which divides it from Italy, so called from the Messenians who settled there, when they were expelled from their own country by the Spartans. The ancient name was Zancle, from the Sicilian word *Ζαγκλος*, a sickle, which it resembled in its form.

Methymna. A considerable town on the eastern side of the island of Lesbos.

Miletus. The most considerable town of Ionia, on the confines of Caria, celebrated for the number of its colonies, and for an oracular temple of Apollo.

Mitylene. The capital of Lesbos, near the promontory Malia.

Molyeria. A small town in Actolia, a little to the west of the promontory Antirrhium, at the entrance of the Corinthian gulf.

Munychia. A port belonging

to Athens, smaller than the Piræus, and situated between the Piræus and the mouth of the Ilissus.

Mycale. A promontory of Ionia, opposite the south-eastern point of the island of Samos, from which it is divided by a narrow strait.

Mycenæ. Was the capital of Argolis in the time of the Trojan war; afterwards it went gradually to decay, and the latest mention of it is in Polybius's account of the war with Nabis, tyrant of Sparta. When Strabo wrote, no vestige of it was remaining.

Mygdonia. Vide MACE-
DONIA.

Nisa. A town in Lycia, near the source of the Xanthus.

Nisæa. The port of Megara, at a little more than two miles distance, and connected with it by long walls.

Nisæan Plains. An extensive tract of level country east of Ecbatana, towards the Portæ Caspiæ, famous for its breed of horses.

Nysa. An inland town of Lydia, between the Cayster and Mæander.

Nysa. The fabulous birth-place of Bacchus. Its situation doubtful; said by Diodorus, in one place, to be between Phœnice and the Nile; in another, to be in Arabia Felix, near the Egyptian frontier.

N.

Naupactus. The frontier town of Aetolia, towards the Locri Ozolæ, on the Corinthian gulf. It derived its name from the ships that were constructed there.

Nemea. A river which separated the territories of Sicyon and Corinth. Near its source was a town of the same name, in the territory of Argolis.

O.

Oenoe. A fortified frontier town of Atticæ, towards Bœotia, near the source of the Eridanus.

Oeta. A ridge of mountains dividing Thessaly from Doris and Locris.

Olpa. A town of Acarnania, on the Sinus Ambracius, about three miles from Argos Amphilochicum.

Olympia. A grove and

temple of Jupiter in Pisatis, a district of Elis. There was probably a town of the same name near the grove, built not far from the site of a more ancient one called Pifa, which had been destroyed by the Eleans. Some, however, deny the existence of such a town as Pifa, and say the district received its name from a fountain called Pifa near Olympia.

Olynthus. The most considerable town in the Regio Chalcidice, situated just on the outside of the isthmus of Pallene.

Orontes. A mountain in the northern part of Media.

P.

Pactolus. A river of Lydia, which rises in mount Tmolus, and passing by Sardes falls into the Hermus, which discharges itself into the Aegean sea between Phocæa and Smyrna.

Pallacopas. A channel derived from that branch of the Euphrates which passes through Babylon. It commences about an hundred miles below the city, and is continued along the level

country of Chaldæa towards the confines of Arabia Deserta, forming a number of small lakes in its course, in one of which it terminates.

Pamphylia. A district in the peninsula of Asia, bounded on the south by the Mediterranean, along the coast of which it extends from Olbia, inclusive to the river Melas, by Lycia on the west, Pisidia and Isauria on the north, Cilicia on the east.

Parnassus. A mountain in Phocis.

Paros. Vide CYCLADES.

Parthia. A country of Asia, bounded by Media and Persia on the west, Carmania on the south, Aria on the east, Hyrcania on the north.

Pasargada. An ancient royal residence in Persia, on the river Cyrus.

Patra. A town in Achaia, on the coast of the Ionian sea, a little south of the entrance of the Corinthian gulf.

Pagæ. A town in the mountainous part of Megaris, near the confines of Bœotia, and just at the entrance of the isthmus of Corinth.

Pelasgiotis. The third region

of Theſſaly, ſo called from its ancient inhabitants the Pelafgi, bounded by Theſſalotis on the north, Pthiotis on the ſouth, Magnesia on the eaſt.

Pella. A town on the confines of Aemathia and Bottiaea, the reſidence of the kings of Macedon. It was ſituated on a ſmall eminence ſurrounded by deep lakes and morafſes, in the neareſt of which roſe a ſtrong citadel, that at a diſtance appeared to be part of the town, and was connected with it by a bridge over the Axios, which flowed between the walls of the town and citadel, and made the latter equally ſecure as a fortrefs or as a priſon.

Peloponneſus. A peninſula joined to the continent of Greece by the iſthmus of Corinth, and containing within the iſthmus the ſtates of Achaia, Elis, Meſſenia, Laconia, and Argolis on the coaſt, and Arcadia in the centre.

Pelufium. A large fortified town in Egypt, on the eaſtern ſide of the Peluſiac mouth of the Nile, about two miles and a half from the ſea.

Perrhaebi. A tribe who formed a ſettlement in the maritime part of Theſſaly, from the Enipeus eaſtward, to the mouth of the Peneus, and from thence along the coaſt to the mountains Oſſa and Pelion, within the peninſula of Magnesia. Some of them alſo extended north of the Peneus, as far as Mount Olympus. Being expelled from thence by the Lapithae, they retired weſtward, and took refuge on Mount Pindus, and along the confines of the Dolopians, Athamanians, and Aetolians.

Perſepolis. The metropolis of Perſia Proper; and a royal reſidence, ſituated on the eaſtern ſide of the Araxes.

Perſia Proper. Bounded by Elymais on the weſt, from which it is ſeparated by the Paſitigris or Orontes, by Media on the north, Carmania on the eaſt, and the Perſian Gulf on the ſouth. On the land ſide it is ſurrounded by high mountains, and acceſſible only by narrow paſſes through them, of which the moſt remarkable are thoſe which communicate with

Sufiana,

Suffiana, near the source of the Pafitigris, called indifferently Pylæ Perfides and Pylæ Sufides.

Phalerum. One of the Attic *Ἀγροί* a little to the east of the mouth of the Ilissus; the principal port and naval arsenal of Athens before the construction of the Piræus by Themistocles: it was connected with Athens by long walls.

Phasis. A large river which rises on the borders of Armenia, and flows through the country of Colchis, first in a northerly, then in a westerly direction: it falls into the eastern extremity of the Pontus Euxinus.

Philæ. An island in the Nile, containing a town of the same name, the southernmost in Egypt, about twelve miles within the tropic. The lesser cataract is between the islands of Philæ and Elephantine.

Phocis. A state of Greece, bounded by Locris, Bœotia, and the Corinthian Gulf; its territory extended anciently to the coast of the Eubœan Sea, a narrow tract of it passing between the Locri

Epicnemidii and the Locri Opuntii.

Phœnice. A country extending along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, bounded on the north by the north-western part of Syria, afterwards called Seleucis and Antiochene, by Cœlesyria on the east, and by Palæstine on the south.

Phrygia. Vide ASIA MINOR.

Phthiotis. The southernmost of the four divisions of Thessaly, extending westward to Mount Pindus and the territory of the Dolopians, and eastward to the sea between the Sinus Pegafæus and the Sinus Maliacus; bounded by Pelasgiotis on the north, and the ridge of Mount Oeta on the south.

Piræus. One of the Attic *Ἀγροί* to the west of the mouth of the Ilissus, and of Munychia; less convenient for a naval arsenal than Phalerum, in respect of its distance from the city, which was considerably greater; but this disadvantage was compensated by the contiguity of three small natural bays, which Themistocles enclosed

and fortified, and connected the whole with the city by long walls.

Pirene. Vide ACROCORINTHUS.

Pisa. Vide OLYMPIA.

Plataea, or *Plataea*. A town of Boeotia, near the foot of Mount Cithæron, and on the south side of the Asopus. It was on the confines of Attica and Megaris, and adjoining to the road from Thebes to Athens and Megara.

Portus Albus. A port of Upper Egypt on the Arabian Gulf, about two degrees north of the tropic.

Portus Itamus. A port of Arabia Felix on the Persian Gulf, a little south of the ridge of mountains which separate Arabia Felix from Arabia Deserta.

Potidaea. An opulent town on the peninsula of the isthmus of Pallene.

Pylus. A maritime town in the south-west part of Messenia, near the foot of the mount Aegaleus.

R.

Rhegium. A town and promontory at the southern extremity of Italy, on the strait

which divides it from Sicily. The town was built soon after the taking of Ira or Eira by the Lacedæmonians, by a colony composed of Messenians and Chalcidians from Eubœa, and named Rhegium from the tradition that the continent and the island of Sicily had been violently broken asunder.

Rhium. A promontory (called also Drepanum, from being curved inwards in the form of a sickle) on the coast of Achaia, at the entrance of the Corinthian Gulf; there was a town of the same name immediately behind it. The opposite promontory on the coast of Aetolia was called Antirrhium, and the strait between them not quite a mile wide.

Rhodes. A considerable island on the southern coast of Asia Minor, opposite the coasts of Caria and Lycia; its metropolis, built on the eastern side of the island during the Peloponnesian war, bore the same name.

S.

Sabæa. A district of considerable extent in the south-

west part of Arabia Felix, extending to the Arabian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

Sais. A considerable town in the Delta, once the metropolis of Lower Aegypt, situated about midway between the two western branches of the Nile.

Salamis. An island about nine or ten miles in length in the Sinus Saronicus, opposite Eleufis.

Samos. An island near the coast of Ionia, opposite to the promontory Mycale, and to Ephesus.

Samothrace. An island distant about thirty-eight miles from the coast of Thrace, opposite to the mouths of the Hebrus. It was anciently called Samos, which signifies height, probably from the great height of one of its mountains, from the top of which Ida and Troy were visible, and the epithet Thracian was added for the purpose of distinction. It contained a temple equally celebrated with that of Eleufis for its mysteries, and considered as a most sacred asylum.

Sardes. The capital of Lydia, on the Pactolus, near the foot of the mountain Tmolus.

Seyrus. An island in the Aegean sea, opposite the middle of the eastern side of Eubœa.

Seythia. An undefined tract of country, comprising all the northern part of Asia from the Palus Mœotis, and the river Tanais eastward, to the country of the Ceres, or, including these, to the Eastern Ocean; and extending in latitude from the Hyperborean Ocean to the northern shores of the Euxine and Caspian Seas, the Jaxartes, and the chain of mountains that form the northern boundary of India.

Serbon, or Serbonis. A lake in Aegypt, towards the confines of Palæstine, about twenty-five miles in length, narrow, and very deep. It runs parallel to the sea at about six miles distance, and communicates with it by a narrow outlet at the western end, called Ecregma, which passes near the foot of Mount Casius.

Sicily. The largest island in

the Mediterranean, separated from Italy by a very narrow strait; of a triangular form, with a promontory at each angle, Pelorus towards Italy, Pachynus towards Greece, Lilybeum towards Africa. and western boundaries are less certain.

Sicyonia. A small state in the Peloponnesus, bounded by Achaia, Argolis, and the territory of Corinth.

Sidon. A very ancient and opulent commercial town on the coast of Phœnice, about thirty miles north of Tyre.

Sigeum. A promontory, town, and naval arsenal in Troas, near the entrance of the Hellespont.

Smyrna. A considerable town on the coast of Ionia, founded by a colony of Ephesians, who themselves were originally called Smyrnæans. It stood a little south of the mouth of the Hermus, and its walls were washed by the Meles, near the source of which was a cavern, where Homer is said to have composed his poems.

Sogdiana. A region of Asia, separated from Scythia by the Jaxartes, and from Bactria by the Oxus; its eastern

Sparta. The original name of the metropolis of Laconia, the other name, Lacedæmon, taken from the country, being of a later date.

Spartolus. A town of the Bottiæans, who, after their expulsion from Bottiæa by the Macedonians, established themselves on the confines of the Regio Chalcidice, a part of Thrace, peopled for the most part by Grecian colonies.

Strymon. A river whose sources are in Mount Pangæus in Thrace. The upper part of its course separated Thrace from Macedonia; the lower (perhaps from the division of the stream at Amphipolis) was entirely in Thrace, between the Regio Chalcidice and Eudonis.

Sunium. A town and promontory of Attica, at the entrance of the Saronic gulf.

Susa. The metropolis of Susiana, on the Eulæus or Choaspes, a royal residence, said to have been built by Tithonus, or rather by his son Memnon, and to have

been restored by Darius the son of Hyftaspes.

Sybaris. A town of Lucania, between the rivers Sybaris and Crathis, founded, about the year of Rome thirty-four, by a colony of Achæans and Trœzenians; having grown very populous, opulent, and luxurious, it was conquered and raised to the ground by the Crotonians about the time of the expulsion of the Tarquins. The remnant and descendants of its inhabitants, assisted by some Thessalians, rebuilt it about fifty-eight years afterwards, but in six years it was again destroyed by the jealousy of the Crotonians. The Sybarites once more, with the assistance of colonists from various parts of Greece, but particularly from Athens and Sparta, built a new town, by the advice of an oracle, at a little distance from the site of the former, round the fountain Thuria, whence it was called Thurium. Soon after the old inhabitants arrogating an exclusive title to honors and magistracy, though very unequal in strength to their new

associates, were completely exterminated by them. Factions prevailed among these also, in consequence of their different origin, and, after the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, their party was expelled by that of the Lacedæmonians.

Syene. Vide Aegypt.

Syracuse. A large and powerful town on the eastern side of Sicily, which, besides a harbour on the north side of it, called Portus Trogiliorum, contained two which it almost surrounded, called the Great Harbour, and the Portus Laccius. These were separated by the island Ortygia, which was considered as one of the quarters of the town, being fully built, peopled, and fortified, and joined to the main land by a bridge over a narrow channel that connected the interior part of the Portus Laccius with the Great Harbour. North of the small harbour lay the quarter called Acradina, much superior to the rest in size, strength, and splendor; a complete town in itself, and fortified on

every side. The two harbours washed its walls on the south, the Mare Siculum on the east, and the Portus Trogiliorum on the north. It was separated from Tycha by a strong rampart. Tycha was so called from an old temple of Fortune, and, though much smaller, was completely fortified like Acradina, from which it extended westward, a little inclining to the north. South of Tycha, and smaller still, was the fourth quarter, called Temenites, from a statue of Apollo Temenites. It was afterwards enlarged and called Neapolis. Northwest of the town was an eminence which commanded it, called Epipolæ, afterwards inclosed within the walls to serve as a citadel, but not inhabited.

Syria. The limits of this country, laid down in one place by Strabo, are Cilicia and mount Amanus on the north, the Euphrates and the Scenite Arabians on the east, Arabia Petrea and Aegypt to the south. This description includes Phœnice and Palæstine.

Syrus. Vide CYCLADES.

T.

Tanagra. A town of Bœotia, not far from the shore of the Euripus.

Tanais. A river of Sarmatia, which rises in the Riphæan mountains, and after a long course eastward, turns to the south, and returning as far westward, falls into the Palus Mæotis; the lower part of its course divides Europe from Asia.

Taoce. A town and promontory of Persia on the Persian gulf.

Tarsus. A considerable town of Cilicia Campestris, on the river Cydnus.

Tenedos. A small island opposite the coast of the Hellespontian Phrygia.

Tentyra. A town in Thebais, on the western side of the Nile.

Teos. An ancient town with a harbour, at the south-west angle of the peninsula of Ionia.

Thebes. Afterwards called Diospolis Magna, the metropolis of the Thebais. The town itself was on the eastern or Arabian bank of the Nile, but the Memnonium, which

was considered as belonging to it, on the Libyan.

Thebes. The most considerable town in Bœotia, on the Ifmenus; the citadel, which was more ancient than the other parts of it, was built by Cadmus, and retained the name of Cadmea.

Thessaly. The most northern state of Greece, extending on the eastern side from Thermopylæ to the mouth of the Peneus, on the south under the ridge of mount Oeta to mount Pindus, on the west along the frontiers of Athamania, Perrhæbia, and part of Epirus, on the north to Macedonia.

Thermopylæ. A very narrow pass, with steep mountains on one hand, and the sea on the other, leading from Thessaly into Phocis and Bœotia.

Thoricus. A *Δημος* belonging to the tribe Acamantis.

Thrace. A region bounded on the north by the ridges of mount Hæmus, and extending from thence along the shores of the Euxine, the Propontis, and Aegean, as far as the gulf of Torone.

Thurium. Vide *SYDARTS*.

Tiber. A river of Italy, which rises on the western side of the Apennines, separates Etruria from Umbria, the country of the Sabines and Latium, and having passed through Rome, discharges itself by two mouths into the Mare Tyrrhenum.

Tigris. A large river of Asia, the source of which is at Elegosine in the level country of the Greater Armenia. It flows at first very slowly, and is called Diglito: afterwards becoming rapid, it assumes the name of Tigris, or the Arrow; having reached the mountain Taurus or Niphates, it is lost in subterraneous passages, and emerging on the other side of the mountain, forms the eastern boundary of Mesopotamia; and Babylonia; at the southern extremity of which it joins the Euphrates, and falls with it into the Persian Gulf. Some geographers consider the place where it emerges as the original source of the river.

Tmolus. A mountain and town of Lydia near Sardes.

Trazen, or *Trazene*. A town of the former town by the town at the eastern extremity of Argolis, near the Scyllæan promontory. Affyrians.

Z.

Troy, or *Ilium*. A town in the Hellespontian Phrygia.

Zacynthus. An island in the

Tyre. A very powerful commercial town, on a small island, almost contiguous to the coast of Phœnice. It was founded by the Sidonians, and stood originally on the shore of the continent, a little south of the island, on which it is supposed to have been rebuilt, after the destruction of the Lesser Armenia.

Ionian Sea, opposite the coast of Elis, and peopled by a colony from Achaia.

Zeieia. The name of two towns, one in Troas near the foot of mount Ida, on the banks of the Asopus, the other in Pontus, on the river Lycus, and on the confines of the Lesser Armenia.

ATHENIAN

ATHENIAN LETTERS:
OR, THE
EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE
OF

AN AGENT OF THE KING OF PERSIA,
Residing at **ATHENS** during the
PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

A.M. 3577. Second Year of the 88th Olympiad.
The fifth Year of the Peloponnesian War.

LETTER LXXXII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. From Athens.

I IMAGINE it unnecessary to inform the Persian council of the invasion of Attica by the allied army under the command of **CLEOMENES**, guardian to **PAUSANIAS**, the young Spartan king; and likewise of the sailing of **ALCIDAS**, with forty ships from the Peloponnesian ports, to the relief of Mitylene. **CRATIPPUS** cannot have failed to send the earliest accounts of both these events directly from Sparta. It falls

within my province to send advice of the retreat of CLEOMENES, who, after adding to the desolation of the country, (if any thing still remained to be laid waste in a fifth successive inroad,) kept hovering about with a flying camp some time, in expectation of the fleet's success which had been sent to Lesbos. The allies, by making these annual incursions, seem to have it in view to distress the Athenians, in destroying their crops, and obliging the inhabitants of the villages to continue pent up within the walls of Athens; and they hope, that the inconveniencies to which those unfortunate families are reduced, who have now for four years been deprived of their ancient habitations and the revenues of their estates, will produce at last some notable turn in their favor. The want of provisions in Athens was so great for some days, that the poorer citizens began a tumult, which might have proved of dangerous consequence. They first pillaged two merchants warehouses in the street of the tripods, and next assembled in great numbers to plunder the markets; but DIOTIMUS, the archon polemarch, with a detachment of the garrison, dispersed them, and took the ring-leaders prisoners. Soon after, the Sitonai and Agoranomoi (to whom the care of furnishing the city with corn and the inspection of the markets are committed) brought in supplies from Eubœa and the coast of Asia Minor, and the public tranquillity was completely restored. The news arrived lately from Lesbos has entirely changed the scene. The complaints of

the miseries and expenses of war are succeeded by the joyful acclamations of victory, and the pleasing ideas of revenge over their revolted tributaries. Every man entertains his friends, decks his house with laurel, puts on his white robe, and pays his oblations at the shrine of his tutelar deity. The porticos of the temples are adorned with arms, and the prisons filled with captives. Yesterday was kept as a solemn festival, and the Prytanes and Archons assisted at a thanksgiving-sacrifice to JUPITER, in the name of the republic. Thou wilt judge, noble scribe, what occasion there is for these rejoicings, when I tell thee, Mitylene is surrendered. The inhabitants, reduced to great necessity through a scarcity of provisions, and despairing of succours from their allies, raised a sudden commotion, obliged the rich to distribute corn to the poor, and refused to obey further orders from their magistrates towards the defence of the town. The latter seeing all authority lost in the disorders of the enraged populace, and apprehending, that the next step they took would be to come to an agreement with the Athenians, from whence themselves might be excluded, sent out deputies of their own to PACHES, who commanded the siege; and that general admitted them to capitulate on these conditions: 1. That the city should be immediately surrendered to the troops of the republic, and quarters provided for them during their stay in the island. 2. That the Athenians should be at liberty to determine concerning the punishment of the Mitylenians,

in what manner they pleased. 3. That PACHES should neither put to death, imprison, nor inclose any citizen of Mitylene, till the pleasure of his state was known. These terms were strictly observed. PACHES has sent back to Athens a part of his squadrōn, with a relation, of the posture of affairs in Lesbos, and SALÆTHUS, an agent of Lacedæmon, and the principal authors of the revolt, prisoners. Along with them likewise is arrived a deputation of the magistrates of Mitylene, who come to implore the mitigation of the punishment intended to be inflicted on them for their revolt. I much doubt, whether they will succeed in their errand. The people in general seem inclined, by a rigorous sentence, to deter the rest of their allies from the least thought of shaking off their dependance. No news is yet arrived of the Peloponnesian ships; several are uneasy, lest they should surprize the army and fleet at Mitylene, who are probably enjoying that security which accompanies success.

If I can collect any thing from what Nicander has communicated to thee of the views of his state in seeking an alliance with Persia, it is, that they are unwilling to be reproached by the rest of Greece with having brought in Barbarians to decide the quarrel, which makes them not very forward to smoothe the openings to a negotiation. At the same time they are inclined to keep on fair terms with the Great King, that they may be able to push on an alliance with him more briskly, when any remarkable stroke of ill fortune befalls them.

I would offer it to thy consideration, whether it would not be advisable for the Persian ministry, in return, to show an absolute averfeness to comply with their extravagant propofals, and discover fome inclinations of joining with the Athenians. I am perfuaded, it would soften their stiffness and disdainful pride, when they fee a weight like that of Perfia ready to be thrown into the opposite fcale. I am encouraged to ufe this freedom, illuftrious minifter, from the generous confidence with which thou honoreft me in thy difpatches; a confidence, which more than repays the value of my fervices, and even makes the danger, to which my ftation expofes me, difappear. It rejoices me, to be affured from thy authority, that the deteftable practices of SACAS were founded rather on the chimerical hopes of a forward traitor, and fome fpeeches thrown out by malecontents, than any formed plan of the great fatraps of Media, or the general difcontent of that province. There is a merchant of Samos at Sufa, by name PYTHON, a notable man, whom the Athenians employ as a fpy upon the fublime court. I faw one of his letters in the hands of a fenator of my acquaintance, which relates to an inftruction he had received from the fenate to difcover the progrefs of the Lacedæmonian negotiation, and found the temper of the minifters with regard to an embaffy from hence. PYTHON writes word, that “no one could perfonally
“be more difagreeable to the Perfian court,
“than the refident NICANDER; and if fome

“ Athenians of address and politeness, enabled
“ by large appointments to entertain magni-
“ ficently, and conform to the manners of the
“ East, were sent thither, before the Lacedæ-
“ monian representations had made any im-
“ pression, they need not doubt of success in
“ whatever they undertook.”

The Athenians are just deprived of their best admiral, by the death of PHORMIO; he was an officer of long experience, and deserved reputation; having distinguished himself in the war against the Samians, and commanded with great bravery and skill at the siege of Potidæa, and the two naval fights off Naupactus, of which thou wilt find a relation in my dispatches of the third year. His plain frugal way of living was extremely well suited to the simplicity of the first ages of the republic, and is now almost become a proverb. His loss is much regretted by the sailors; for though he kept up a strict discipline, he behaved towards them with great humanity, and resembled them in the honest roughness of his manners.

I was just upon the point of closing up these letters under the cover of HIPPIAS, when DIODOTUS, one of the Prytanes, a leading man here, made me a visit, and informed me, amongst other particulars, that a light frigate was just arrived, which brought letters from PACHES, importing, that two ships of his squadron, the Paralus and Salamis, being out on a cruize, had discovered ALCIBAS's squadron lying off the island Claros. As soon as he received this intelligence, he sailed from Mitylene;

LETTERS.

7

and though he pursued them as far as Latmos, he could not come up with them. He had intercepted letters from TEUTIPALUS, admiral of Elis, to this effect; that, "whilst they were
 "on their voyage to Lesbos, they heard of the
 "surrender of Mitylene. Upon this, a council
 "of war was called, in which ALCIDAS declared himself for a retreat, contrary to his
 "opinion and that of other officers, who proposed to land the troops by night, and
 "attack the Athenians, before they were
 "settled in their quarters."

Forget not, potent satrap, to lay me at the feet of the mighty ARTAXERXES, the shadow of the divine OROMASDES on earth.

P.

LETTER LXXXIII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

THE hideous noises of the people, which prevailed lately for several days in this city, on account of the orgies and ceremonies performed at the Dionysia, have left such an impression upon my mind, as is not to be effaced by any tranquillity I enjoy at present. I own to thee, HYDASPES, I am so shocked with what I have seen and heard, that I can no longer think I dwell with the polite Athenians. It is with difficulty I can refrain from imagining myself transported into a tribe of barbarous Scythians, where the wildest frenzy

and licentiousness have triumphed over all the dictates of common modesty. Thus enthusiasm gets the better of our reason; and they, who attend to the false principles of the Greek superstitions, forget to behave with the same decency and good sense in the business of religion, which influence them in the ordinary concerns of life. The entertainments which please me most, are the public spectacles of the theatre; and thou mayest imagine I have not been so incurious an observer of what passes round me, as to neglect being present at every representation of this kind. These are chiefly exhibited on their greatest festivals; I mean those of BACCHUS and MINERVA; and are celebrated with as much gaiety and splendor in the midst of a tedious and expensive war, as in the most dissolute times of peace and luxurious plenty. For the genius of this people is equally turned to matters of diversion and amusement, as to the humane and military arts; and not a holiday in their calendar is unattended with martial exercises in memory of some hero, or a sacred procession in honor of some deity.

The Athenian theatre is built in a semi-circular form on one side, and square-wise on the other. The space comprised within the former is allotted to the spectators, and contains many seats, which rise gradually to the top of it. The square part in the front belongs to the actors, and in the interval between both lies the orchestra. The semi-circle has three rows of pillars raised one upon another, which

form the body of the edifice in three different stories. From the highest of these, the women see the representation, protected from the inclemencies of the weather. As the actor can scarcely be heard to the extremity of the theatre without assistance, the Athenians have contrived an ingenious method of supplying that defect; they have placed huge vases of brass under the seats, which, being toned to all the different modulations of the human voice, convey the sounds more strongly and distinctly to the ear of the auditor. The orchestra, particularly so called, is appropriated to the dancers and pantomimes, who play between the acts and at the end of divers representations. On the one side stand the chorus; on the other, the band of music. The scenes occupy the whole front of the building from side to side; and when they are changed, show occasionally to the spectators, either a private apartment or the forum, the city or the country. As only the porticos are roofed, it is necessary to draw sail-cloth, fastened with cords to masts, over the rest of the theatre, to defend the spectators from the heat of the sun. But as this cannot prevent the warmth occasioned by the breath and perspiration of such vast numbers as are usually present at these entertainments, they take care to allay it by perfumed waters, conveyed for that purpose above the porticos, which falling again through an infinity of small pipes concealed in the statues, with which the theatre abounds, diffuse not only an agreeable coolness all round, but the most fragrant scents. I

remember I was last year present in the theatre to see one of the tragedies of EURIPIDES, when on a sudden we were disturbed by a violent storm of thunder and lightning, which immediately obliged all the spectators, in great confusion, to retire for some time within the porticos behind the seats of the theatre. It was indeed one of the most miserable hours I have passed since my arrival here, on account of the disorder which must necessarily attend so great a crowd; but I was amply rewarded for my sufferings by the excellent performance that succeeded it. The last play I saw was the *Acharnenses* of ARISTOPHANES. It was exhibited a few days since, and is the second comedy that rising poet has produced. The judges pronounced in favor of it against several others, which were presented to them; and the prize was bestowed on him with honor. On the morning before the representation, PHILEMON and I were walking together in the forum, and saw many of the citizens going up to the citadel to receive their oboli (according to PERICLES's law) for frequenting the theatre. My patron took notice to me of it, and told me, that he had vehemently opposed that law when it was offered, and therefore disdained accepting the pension which it gave him a right to demand. In the afternoon I had the good fortune to accompany him to the play. We sat almost in the centre of the theatre, and were not only well situated for a view of the spectacle, but had at the same time an opportunity of surveying an audience of thirty

thousand people, without offence or interruption. Soon after we entered, the music joined in one of the most pleasing concerts I have ever heard, composed by the union of the Doric harp with the Phrygian flute; and my good friend looked round him with that air of complacency and satisfaction, which the sight of a numerous and cheerful company is apt to raise in a mind always exerting its humanity. As thou hast never received any letters from me relating to the Athenian theatre, or their manner of acting, I shall mention to thee in this its most striking peculiarities. The first remarkable thing which occurs, is, that the actors are all masked; for they say, the expression of the countenance would be lost at the further end of the theatre, without some invention of that sort. In comedy it has a further use, in exhibiting caricaturas of such persons on the stage as the poet has an intention of setting in a ridiculous or scandalous light. I observed a man placed with a pitch-pipe in his hand behind one of the side-scenes, which played a note in the right key, whenever it was proper for the actors to give a different modulation to their voices; and I saw another stationed near him with an iron plate at the bottom of his foot, which he struck upon the ground at stated intervals, to guide them in the well-timing of their action; as if the words and sentiment would not almost of course lead an understanding player into the gesture and tone of voice which may be requisite to express both.

For my own part, I am amazed how the national delicacy of Athens can endure so many glaring contradictions to nature ; but though I have conversed with the most judicious among them on this head, I find the irresistible force of prejudice and custom has got the better of all sense of propriety and decorum. Nor was I more pleased with the comedy, than with the action. The plan of it was wholly factious, and designed to intimate the superior excellence of peace above war. It represented an inhabitant of a little town in Attica much distressed by the losses he had undergone in the Peloponnesian campaigns, and unable to bear them any longer. The poet introduced this man making a private exclusive agreement with the Lacedæmonian army, and enjoying the fruits of peace, while the Achærians, Megarians, and Athenians endure all the painful hardships and services of war. He insinuated, that the people are amused, either by the threats or promises of the senate, and the ambition of CLEON and LAMACHUS, their generals, who advance their particular interest by prolonging the common calamity. In short, neither the state nor its officers, nay, not even the honored memory of PERICLES, was treated with mercy in this one play. In the very first act of it he ridiculed the assembly of Athens and the ambassadors sent abroad by their countrymen, by supposing some of the latter to give a senseless account to the former of a trifling negotiation with the Great King. In the second act, he reflected on CLEON's character

with peculiar severity for the prosecution commenced against him last year, "as one who" exposed the commonwealth to the derision "of strangers." And the chorus pronounced a vaunting panegyric on ARISTOPHANES's qualities, as "an excellent censor of manners, and" counsellor of the state; as one who deserved "highly of the Athenians, and had been much" inquired after by the Persian monarch." This fullsome strain was received with a thunder of applause, and accompanied with a new dance of ARISTOPHANES's invention. The whole piece was interpersed with several parodies on EURIPIDES, and an infinite number of allusions to the public transactions.

When the play was over, I could not help discovering my surprise to PHILEMON, as we walked home together, at the general approbation given by the audience to such unjust and indecent scurrility. Surely, said I, the performances of your comic poets are as so many seditious firebrands, thrown by public authority among the people to inflame them. Their wit is like the most dangerous and deadly poison, sufficient to corrupt the minds of the vulgar against those who preside over the arms and counsels of the state. Are ye not apprehensive, that contempt will one day beget hatred, and hatred will break out into violence and rebellion? Methinks while the citizens in the administration have the management of the stage, it should seem natural for them to mould its politics according to their own schemes, and make it speak in their favor to the

people. That would never be suffered, answered he; you know in Athens we consider the stage, as a centinel posted by our constitution to warn the republic of approaching perils. We are afraid of intrusting the least degree of power with the best of our citizens, and whenever we are brought to that necessity, we have a thousand arts of watching over them; of putting them out of conceit with their greatness, lest they should grow too fond of it; and of setting them on their guard in actions of the minutest consequence. How does it beat down the little pride of ministers, to reflect, that all their measures are canvassed by a comic poet; and that their foibles are exposed licentiously to the public view, while the ridicule is relished and applauded by their countrymen? But, said I, are not their measures enough censured or commended in the proper places of debating, in the assemblies of the people? Is it not sufficient, that they are examined by the art of your orators, without being humorously abused by your poets and play-writers? Besides, it is dangerous to regard ridicule as the criterion of truth, for it presents us commonly with partial and unfair representations of it. By throwing false colors over the dictates of wisdom, we may give them the appearance of folly; and I take ARISTOPHANES to be more concerned for the success of a witticism, than the welfare of the public; a buffoon, who could be scarcely grave upon the ruin of his country.

PHILEMON was going to reply, and I would have talked with him more upon the subject, but he was unfortunately called off by some of his acquaintance. Forgive me then, if I vent my astonishment to thee. Is it not strange, my noble friend, that the public Archons should authorize these satires on the public officers and measures of the state? or that those, who are intended by the constitution to restrain, should yet be the legal encouragers of licentiousness? Is it not impious, that in the very act of devotion to a deity, they should dare to laugh at, and express their contempt for that deity? Is it not impolitic, that the civil magistrate should not only be accessory to a libel on his methods of exercising the civil authority, but even strike by this means at religion, the support and foundation of that authority? Is it not more than absurd, that every private citizen should be paid out of the public funds, for going, where an affection for new diversions would of course invite him; and that the revenue should be thus idly wasted, in the midst of a war, and to the disappointment of the public service? Was it not inconsistent with the character of a wise man, to propose the law which enacted this extravagance, and at once establish it beyond the power of a repeal? Perhaps it would not have amazed one, if PERICLES had given money to the people, to prevent them from frequenting a place, where his own character was so infamously reviled. But was it not ridiculous to take pains in quickening their appetite for

scandal? and did he not act unbecomingly the greatness of his temper, in stooping to such a dirty and fatal art of popularity? Is it not incredible, that the representation of a few tragedies should have cost more money to this city, than the naval armaments of all Greece, in defence of its freedom against XERXES? or that the Athenian republic should be unanimously profuse in improving those pleasures, which may contribute hereafter to destroy it, like the wretch who decorates the funeral pile, on which he is one day to be burnt? How inconsistent is the lawless democracy of Athens! while the government under which thou livest, potent satrap, is more steady in its movements, more jealous of its power, and more tender of the regard that is shown to it. Were such a fellow as ARISTOPHANES to publish his comedies in Persia, with a view to ridicule the actions, of so great a minister as MEGABYZUS; a fellow, who can expose an honest, and disconcert a wise measure, who can recommend a weak one, and sanctify a base one; by the holy fire of the magi, our monarch would put him to the severest torments his royal vengeance could inflict, and doom him to the lingering death of malefactors in the Ash-tower¹ at Ecbatana.

C.

¹ An high tower being filled a great way from the bottom with ashes, the criminal was thrown headlong from the top of it into them, where, by means of a wheel, they were raised about him, till he was suffocated. See VALER. MAX. l. ix. c. 2. Exter. § 6. 2 Maccab. c. xiii. Note by the translator.

LETTER

LETTER LXXXIV.

HIPPIAS to CLEANDER.

WHEN I can find leisure from my employment as a merchant, I often turn my thoughts to literary speculations, or engage with my acquaintance in political debates. It is at these times I indulge my imagination in laying out new plans for regulating the government of Persia; and I can scarcely forbear smiling at myself, when I reflect, how excellently I should behave as a minister of state, if my power of doing good were but equal to my will. Had I been with you at the time of conferring² with your Athenian friend, I should have entered more largely into the argument than you did, and not have softened so much what was said concerning the Grecian constitution. Indeed, I cannot blame the discretion, which you used in your present circumstances. But you have allowed more weight to his reasoning in the close of your account of it, than I can by any means perceive in it. And though, according to your letter, the man expressed himself with fluency and vivacity on the subject, yet methinks it was rather glittering in the words, than strong in the sense. I confess to thee, CLEANDER, after much deliberation, I am willing to impute the failure of XERXES's expedition, not

² See letter dv.

to the valor of that divided people among whom thou resideſt, but to the raſh counſellors who approved the deſign of that extraordinary invaſion, and to the meaſures which directed it. Thou wilt obſerve, I have endeavoured to ſpeak impartially to this point; thou knoweſt my relation to Greece, by my extradition from that country; thou knoweſt my relation to Perſia, from the happineſs I enjoy under the influence and protection of the Great King. I am not, however, ſo prejudiced in favor of the one, as to give the merit of its ſucceſs to bravery and good conduct alone; nor ſo blind to the miſtakes of the other, as either to conceal its diſgrace, or palliate its ill management.

The chief thing which XERXES wanted, was a true judgment. Preſuming on his own deſerts, he was unfit to give or to receive good advice. Puffed up by the nauſeous breath of flattery, his miniſters knew the art of inſinuating, without even the appearance of ſuggeſting; and the conſequence of this proved, that no man was ever more amused, managed, and betrayed than he, who fancied himſelf protected from all of them by his ſuperior underſtanding. His headſtrong temper led him into the wildeſt and moſt unnatural projects, while he fondly believed the power of the Perſian empire was ſufficient to ſupport them. He entertained high notions of the regal dignity; and his ambition prompted him to unite the world in an univerſal monarchy. At the ſame time, he was not ſenſible of his own want of courage and addreſs to execute the ſcheme.

And indeed I have often thought it wonderfully gracious in Providence, that it did not impart a very considerable share of either, to one who was so desirous to become the destroyer of mankind. As soon as he had declared, that his enterprising views were all levelled at the Grecians, he fitted out such a fleet, as no harbour could receive; and raised such an army as could be drawn up on no plain in Europe or in Asia. So unwieldy a body of forces was an idle spectacle, not a formidable strength; nor could he, as he vainly imagined, be advantaged by these numbers, since they would serve equally to incommode a retreat, or to prevent a victory. He ordered a cut to be made through Mount Athos, as an instance of his greatness, and to perpetuate his name to posterity; for his fleet might have coasted round the Perinnsula, or have been conveyed over the land with less difficulty. How ridiculous was his design of a bridge across the Hellespont! How impertinent were his expressions of fury, when he found the waves, the winds, and the seasons were not under his control! After much time lost in these vast and senseless preparations, he swept like a mighty torrent over the nations of the earth. When he came to Abydos, he sent messengers to all the Greeks, demanding earth and water, except to the Athenians and the Spartans. He knew how roughly they had used his father's heralds on a former occasion, and he conjectured how they would use his on this. A great multitude submitted to his ambassadors,

embraced his offers, and increased his army. After he had passed the Hellespont, and advanced through Thessaly, he arrived at Thermopylæ. There it was the Greeks should have drawn down their forces; those straits should have been considered as the barrier of their country. But some were afraid of the Persian, and therefore willing to join with him; others showed themselves foolishly sanguine for precedence, and chose to sacrifice their interest to form; many wavered in their opinion, stood debating on their measures, and delayed in giving their assistance. He found three hundred Spartans, with LEONIDAS at their head, to oppose him. He engaged them; and it is true they behaved with a bravery exceeding the bounds of probability, and almost too extravagant for romance. It is said, the king placed himself on an eminence to survey the battle. It is added, that he was even alarmed at what he saw; and had the Greeks been united at that time, I shall own they might have defeated his forces in the straits. Then XERXES would have deserted his throne with anxiety for his personal safety, instead of leaping from it thrice in a sudden consternation.

One step he might have taken, which would have opened his way easily through the straits, and forwarded his conquest. He suffered his fleet to lie exposed to storms along the coast of Magnesia, and it was nothing more than an useless encumbrance on the ocean; whereas he ought to have employed it in ravaging the coasts, in burning the ports of

Peloponnesus, in making descents upon their country, in creating a diversion of their strength; and thus he would have fatigued, harassed, and exhausted the Greeks. But he had a wrong method of making the fleet act in concert with the land forces, (as he constantly called it,) by which he only meant to keep it always in sight, and that it should do him no other service than accompany his motions, and sail close by the shore, while he traversed the land. Whether he did this, that it might be in his power to fly in case of a total defeat, it may be hard to determine. However no measure could be more absurd, more unlike one of a reaching head, or a general of prudence and activity. He had many opportunities of sending a squadron of ships (according to the counsel of DEMARATUS) to the island of Cythera, which is opposite to Lacedæmon, from whence he might have annoyed and distressed it; but he improved none, and neglected them all. Instead of bending every accident to fixed and rational purposes, he suffered those accidents perpetually to shift and vary the unsettled and irregular schemes of his policy; and the whole expedition serves to convince us of this, that, far from contriving with phlegm, or performing with spirit, he determined with precipitation and warmth, and acted with cowardice and weakness.

The passage at Thermopylæ was now clear before him: he marched through Phocis, and when he had rifled the temple at Delphi, encamped in Bœotia. In the mean time, his

fleet, after a violent storm, in which it was much shattered, made an awkward and unsuccessful attempt to surprise the Grecian ships, as they lay in the road of Eubœa; for not keeping the design secret, it got air, and came to the knowledge of THEMISTOCLES, who advised the Greeks to leave their station in the night; and so by a counter surprise they stranded and sunk several of the Persian galleys. The rest were forced to sea, where they were destroyed by fires of weather. The next day the Persians engaged with them at Artemisium; and although the Grecians thought it right to retire, yet the conflict was sustained with equal loss on both sides. Whereupon the former contented themselves with invading Eubœa, instead of pushing their main point on the continent of Greece, and the latter resitted with diligence in the straits of Salamis. By this time XERXES was occupied in wasting Attica; and having put to the sword a few old men in the citadel, who had mistaken the sense of the oracle concerning the wooden walls, he demolished the temples, and lorded it over the empty houses in Athens. The citizens looked for this event, and wisely withdrew their women and effects into the neighbouring islands, while every man who was able to bear arms embarked in some ship. Here was XERXES's grand error, and the origin of all his losses. It was his want of sagacity, and neglect of the advice of ARTEMISIA, which caused him to fight under so many disadvantages at Salamis; and it was fear, which prevented his marching

to the Isthmus. He never dared to advance into the Peloponnesus, though if he had done it at first without delay, he must have found very feeble opposition. He was terrified with the apprehension of meeting the eight thousand Lacedæmonians, who, as the royal exile, their countryman, informed him, were like the three hundred at Thermopylæ. Even after the victory at Salamis, he might with proper management have defeated the Grecians; but tired with his journey, and dispirited with ill success, he fled back dishonorably on his way to Persia. He suffered a considerable part of his army to perish by pestilence and famine; that army, the thought of whose natural mortality drew tears from the tyrant, but the thought of whose unnatural one, occasioned by himself, scarcely touched his soul with remorse. Insolent, when he fondly expected prosperity, he was dejected when he felt the weight of bad fortune; unable to steer his course through the difficulties that surrounded him, every tide drew him along with it; every gale of wind carried him before it; continually tossed about, he lived from day to day, subject to the hourly caprice of his temper, and at the mercy of every precarious event.

The imprudent, proud, and desponding king sat down to repose himself at Sardis; solicitous for the fate of those numerous forces which he had intrusted to MARDONIUS. His more imprudent, prouder, and confident minister, promised boldly he would subdue all Greece; if he failed in performing it, he

presumptuously declared, he would take the shame to himself, without any reflection on the honor of his master. XERXES satisfied himself with the rant and vanity of a madman; he foolishly thought the ruin of MARDONIUS would cast no cloud over his own reputation; and reasoned as foolishly to himself, that he might retrieve his credit, if the measures pursued by this giddy officer were attended with success. He still hoped, notwithstanding his disasters, if not by his own valor or his own merit, yet by the valor and merit of MARDONIUS, to enter SUSA in a triumphal chariot, and crowned with the wreaths of a conqueror; for though he was desirous to be far from the danger, he was eager to take a share in the glory.

But here his reasonings were false; his schemes were defeated. MARDONIUS wintered in Thessaly, marched forward to Attica in the spring, and sat down idly in Athens with his army. How ridiculous and incredible was a conduct like this? He made offers of accommodation to the Athenians, who, he knew, would refuse them. He entertained however some groundless expectations, that they would one day accept them. But instead of waiting till they submitted to his clemency, he ought immediately to have repaired XERXES's errors, which he had now a very fair opportunity of doing. He should have fomented the division; he should have improved the coolness between Athens and Lacedæmon; he should have penetrated into the heart of the Peloponnesus, before the wall at the Isthmus was finished,

and spread desolation where he went. He might at least have prevented the Spartan succours from joining the Athenians at Eleusis. In this juncture what did MARDONIUS? A few hours after he received notice of it, he retired basely into the champain plains of Bœotia. Thus he forfeited his honor, betrayed the interests of his prince, and at Platæa his army fell a sacrifice to their general's temerity and unskillfulness. He seems to me in that battle to have thrown away his life with the same wantonness wherewith he always conducted it; and whoever reads the history of this expedition, as it is excellently told by HERODOTUS, will find, that after his death the reliques of his scattered forces died wretchedly of hunger, sickness, and distress. In short, a complication of miseries will present themselves to him in all their horrors. The Greeks, elated by this singular deliverance, fought at Mycale with vigor and with spirit. The Persians indeed behaved with bravery, but were discouraged by these sad calamities. XERXES left Sardis in haste, returned to Susa in despair, and smarted to his last hour for the follies of ambition.

I have now laid before you, CLEANDER, the several faults committed in this strange and cruel expedition. Though the king had so many repeated opportunities of overcoming the Greeks: though every succeeding opportunity made amends for the loss of the foregoing; yet they were given up to the ignorance and timidity of himself and those about him. It would be to suppose his enemies were more than men,

if one could possibly imagine, that powerfully assaulted without, and exposed to sedition and treachery within, they should be able to defeat his millions, by the mere efforts of valor, without receiving particular assistance from his gross and frequent mistakes. Thus ended the invasion of Greece, unjustifiable in its intentions, extravagant in its plan, ill managed in its progress, and fatal in its consequences.

From Ephesus.

C.

LETTER LXXXV.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. *From Memphis.*

SOON after my last letter to thee from Heliopolis, I departed for Memphis, in that delightful season which succeeds the inundation. For at that time, when winter begins in other countries, Ægypt enjoys a return of spring; the trees blossom, the earth is decked with a fresher verdure, the meadows are enamelled with flowers, and the air is pure and more serene. In the month of March ³ is held a solemn festival to Isis. As the goddess represents universal nature, and presides over every element, they dedicate to her a ship in these solemnities, entreating her to be propitious to navigation. The procession began with a company of women crowned with garlands, and

³ APUL. METAM. lib. vi.

apparelled in white, some strewing the way with flowers, others sprinkling it with perfumes and balsams. The emblems they carry much resemble the furniture of a lady's toilet; and several I observed to hold behind them bright polished speculums, as it were in compliment to the goddess, to reflect her image. These were succeeded by a great number of both sexes, with torches and waxen tapers, in honor to the sidereal deities; while a symphony of flutes and other instruments accompanied the voices of a select chorus of young people. Then followed a mixed multitude of the initiated, both men and women, of different ranks and ages, habited in white raiments, and making a shrill noise upon brazen, silver, and golden sistrums. The women had a loose head-dress over their moistened hair; the men had their heads shaven. After these came several persons of the most distinguished orders in the priesthood. One carried a burning lamp in a golden boat; another, whom I took to be the sacred scribe, held in one hand the Caduceus of MERCURY, and had also a palm-branch with foliage of gold. The next was known by the rod of justice, and the golden patera, out of which he poured a milk-libation. Another attendant upon the prophet in this procession carried a golden trough loaded with golden branches. The prophet himself came next, and after him was brought a monstrous Anubis representing HERMES. Then, upon the shoulders of the pastophori, a molten heifer, the symbol of the great goddess; as also

the mystical image of that deity, which to me, who am no initiate, appeared no more than an urn with a round cavity in the middle, the mouth of it running out into a long spout, the outside curiously embossed with Ægyptian figures, and an asp sitting upon the handle, with its body entwined, but the neck swelling and erect. The chest likewise was carried, that contains the hidden mysteries. When all their procession, amidst the acclamations of those who bore a part in it, was come up, and had ranged itself upon the banks of the Nile, the prophet advanced forward to the ship; and having repeated a solemn form of words, with a lighted torch, an egg, and sulphur, he performed the rites of purification, and named and dedicated it to the goddess Isis. The vessel was of citron-wood curiously polished, the stern covered with plates of gold, and upon the canvas written the vows of the people for a prosperous navigation. As soon as the rites of purification were over, the yards being hoisted, and the sails unfurled, instantly all the people present discharge upon it their troughs loaden with aromatic gums, and pour a libation into the water. Then the cables are loosened, and the ship with a gentle gale rides down the Nile. The procession returns in the same order to the temple of Isis, where prayers are offered by the sacred scribe for the preservation of the Persian empire, for the prosperity of Ægypt, and success that year to all the seafaring-tribe. The people present strew bay-leaves, vervain, and other sweet

herbs, before the shrine of the goddess; and with that the assembly is dismissed. This ceremony took its rise from the times of SESOSTRIS, after a famous naval expedition, when he ravaged the coasts of the Red Sea. For he commanded a ship to be built of cedar two hundred and eighty cubits in length, covered with gold on the outside, and with silver within⁴; and this he dedicated to the sovereign deities of Ægypt. In the temple of VULCAN are shown the statues of this king, his wife and sons, which he placed there in memory of a signal deliverance from the treachery of his brother, who set fire in the night-time to his pavilion, as he lay at Pelusium in his return from his great victories. That magnificent temple⁵, according to tradition, was begun by MENES the founder of this city; but those ancient structures, we may believe, were no more than the first rude essays of architecture, in which little regard was had to symmetry and proportion. TOSORTHRUS⁷, the next succeeding king, an associate of MERCURY, instructed the Memphites in the art of masonry, and taught them to square and polish the stones which they used in their buildings. RAMPSINITUS⁸, a son or descendant of SESOSTRIS, built the western portico of VULCAN's temple, and placed two colossal statues of five and twenty cubits in height before the entrance,

⁴ DIOD. SIC. lib. i. c. iv.

⁵ Ibid. & HEROD. Euterp. i. c. 107. 110.

⁶ HEROD. Euterp. c. 99. ⁷ SYNCHELLUS.

⁸ HEROD. Euterp. c. 121.

one facing the north, another the south; the former the Ægyptians call Summer, and pay great adoration to it, but none to the latter, which they call Winter. PSAMMETICHUS afterwards added a portico to the western gate, and encompassed the temple with a wall, supporting it with colossal figures of twelve feet high instead of pillars. In the temple of OSIRIS is the stall of the ox Apis⁹, who is often consulted as a chief oracle, and his manner of returning answers is by receiving or rejecting what is offered him, which are accordingly interpreted lucky or unlucky. The Nile runs on the east side of Memphis¹⁰; to the north and west a great lake surrounds it; for an hundred stadia southward extends an artificial bank, where anciently lay the channel of the Nile. This great work of turning the river, of filling up the old channel, and digging the lake, is ascribed to their first king MENES. The bank is annually repaired by Persia out of the tribute collected from those parts; and the soldiers of the neighbouring garrisons are employed in that service: for should it blow up, the whole city of Memphis would be in danger of being drowned. The inner city, which is called the White Wall, is chiefly inhabited by Persians, who are seldom fewer, including the garrison, than one hundred and twenty thousand. And this number the Ægyptians are obliged to supply with corn, according to the

⁹ DION. SICUL. lib. ii. c. 5.

¹⁰ HEROD. Euterp. c. 99.

taxation of DARIUS, paying the rest of their tribute in money, which, besides the revenue from the lake Moëris, amounts yearly to seventy talents. But this is levied upon the whole province, comprehending part of Lybia, as far as Barca and Cyrene. This part of the city was valiantly defended by us against the Egyptians and Athenians in the last revolt. The first palace that ever was built, they tell you, was built here by MERCURY. In that which is at present standing, Sarsames the viceroy of Egypt keeps his court. It is situated upon the highest ground in the city, and fronts the stately northern portico of VULCAN's temple. Behind the palace lies a beautiful grove ¹¹, and from the eminence you command a prospect of the lake, to which there leads a gradual descent through vistas that open upon the water.

It is a common report of the priests ¹², that three hundred and thirty kings have reigned in Egypt since MENES; that of them eighteen were Æthiopians, and among them one famous woman named NITOCRIS. But the same vanity that has led them to impose upon mankind in other matters, and to claim to themselves the earliest antiquity, has tended to perplex their chronology. They have used a like fallacy in stating the ages of their earliest kings, unless the lives of men are considerably shortened, since the distant period when they reigned. The first extraordinary event in their history

¹¹ STRAB. lib. vi.

¹² HEROD. Enterp.

seems to be the treacherous murder of their first king MENES, to which they fabulously allude in the story of his being destroyed by an Hippopotamus. But OSIRIS, they own, was slain by his brother TYPHON, and the Hippopotamus is the common emblem of TYPHON, as is particularly to be seen at Hermopolis. In their ancient superstition before the times of SESOSTRIS, who built ships of war, and extended his conquests both by sea and land, the sea was an abomination to the Ægyptians, as representing to them the detestable TYPHON; perhaps because that invader came across the sea to Ægypt. When they say OSIRIS perished in the sea, they confound the historical event with their mythological allegory, and mean no more, than that the Nile, which is sometimes fabled by OSIRIS, loses its waters in the great receptacle of all rivers. Their coming acquainted with this element gave birth to new conceits, seemingly as wild and extravagant as any I have mentioned before; that the sun and moon did not, according to the vulgar notion, ride in chariots through the air, but glided along in ships or vessels, as through a thin liquid medium¹³. And one often meets with an ISIS or an APIS upon a boat in their hieroglyphical representations, as emblems of the sun and moon, for which they have found a physical explanation, that the heavenly bodies are nourished with vapors

¹³ PLUTARCH. de ISID. & OSIRIDE.

vapors exhaled from the sea and rivers. The chief obstacle to the Egyptian navigation, and what kept them strangers to the sea so long, seems to have been the want of convenient ports and harbours. The Phoenicians being most commodiously situated for navigation, struck much earlier into naval improvements, and made themselves considerable by carrying on a traffic through all parts. By them the commodities of Egypt were exchanged for those of other countries. They first became acquainted with the Greeks, and by them the Egyptians were made known to them; for though many of the Greeks owed their origin to Egypt, yet were they by length of time estranged from their parent land. But the Phoenicians from the earliest times were known to the Egyptians. The tradition is preserved in Persia of their original ¹⁴, or the place from whence they very anciently removed; and we are well assured, that they were once seated upon the confines of the Arabian gulf; and that coming from thence they settled where they now are. And this memorable tradition in Persia helps me to account for a remarkable revolution, which I have traced out in the Egyptian history, viz. that about seven hundred years after the establishment of their ancient dynasties, a great invasion ¹⁵ happened from a people that came from the East, who after

¹⁴ HEROD. CLIO. c. 1. POLYHYMN.

¹⁵ Ex Maneth. fragment. apud JOSEPH. contra APION.
lib. i.

infinite ravages reduced the country, destroyed their temples, overturned their government, and set up a king of their own, to whom not only the lower Ægypt, but Memphis also, and the upper region, became tributary. For anciently what we now call Ægypt was divided into three parts: Thebais was a distinct district; the dynasty of Memphis was the upper Ægypt; and that of Heliopolis, comprehending the rest of the Delta, the lower region. These invaders have been ever since called by the Ægyptians *Hycsos*, or shepherds, a word of contempt, implying a mean ignoble race, who followed no employment more honorable than that of tending cattle. Now the Phœnicians having probably dwelt upon the borders of Arabia before they invaded Ægypt, might, as the Arabians are, be famous graziers; and from their ancient situation might early have been acquainted with the seas beyond the Arabian gulf. The six first pastor-kings reduced all Ægypt under their power, except Thebais; but after a subjection of about five hundred years, the Ægyptians, by help of the Theban king, cast off this foreign yoke. TETHMOSIS recovered Heliopolis, and was the first prince from Thebais, who settled his dominion there, and abolished the barbarous custom of human sacrifices¹⁶. MOERIS about the same time expelled them from Memphis¹⁷, and TETHMOSIS drove them into the extreme parts of the

¹⁶ EX MANETH. PORPHYR. *ἀπὸ ἀπορίας*. lib. ii. § 55.

¹⁷ EUSEB. Præpar. Evan. lib. iv. c. 16:

country, and took and ruined Abaris ¹⁸, now Pelusium, their last hold in Ægypt. From these times Ægypt became a flourishing kingdom, and increased in power and glory, till SESOSTRIS, the brother of DANAUS, extended his conquests through all Asia, and set up an universal empire before NINUS and SEMIRAMIS. With a great naval force he took Cyprus and Phœnicia, led an army against the Assyrians and Medes, and after he had reduced those nations, invaded the more distant cities and provinces of the East. He conquered Scythia as far as the river Tanais, and left pillars in several places in memory of his great exploits. Upon his return out of Thrace, he planted the ¹⁹ Colchi upon the river Phasis, leaving a part of his army to people the new colony. He contrived an itinerary to settle the boundaries and distances of the countries he had travelled over, and introduced the study of geography, which has since been greatly improved by the sacred scribes. But the first geographical tables are said to be preserved among the Colchi ²⁰. This SESOSTRIS instructed

¹⁸ EUSEB. Præpar. Evan. lib. x. c. 11.

¹⁹ HEROD. Eut. c. 163. AGATHIAS de Lazis agens, lib. ii. c. 53. Colchi dicuntur esse Aegyptiorum colonia, &c.

²⁰ Ἐνθεν δὴ τινὰ Φασὶ περὶξ διὰ πᾶσαν ὁδεύσαι
Εὐρώπην Ἀσίην τε —

Αἶα γὰρ μὴν ἔτι νῦν μένει ἔμπεδον, οἰωνοῖτε

τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν ὅς ὄγε καθίστατο ναίεμεν Αἶαν,

οἱ δὲ τοὶ γράπτης πατέρων ἔθεν εἰρύοντα,

the Ægyptians in horsemanship. His army, they tell you, consisted of twenty-four thousand horse, besides a much larger body of foot, with twenty-seven thousand armed chariots; and anciently a horse was the Ægyptian symbol for fortitude and boldness; but after the military genius of the Ægyptians abated, that warlike animal was disused; and by the canals, which that prince began, and others have since carried through every part of the country, for the more general conveyance of the waters, it is in most places rendered impassable for chariots and horses. SESOSTRIS first made it a law, that no person should forsake the profession of his fathers. By this the military as well as the priestly tribes were likely to be kept distinct. The soldiery were then divided into two classes, the Hermotybies and the Calasiries; and a thousand of each chosen annually for the king's body-guard; and these were commonly taken from among those who had their settlement in the Theban and Chemmite nomes. But the soldiery in general enjoyed a certain

Κύβρις, οἷς ἐν πᾶσι ὁδοὶ καὶ πείρατ' ἔσιν
 ὕγρῃς τε τραφερῇς τε πένεξ ἐπινειτομένοισιν.

ARGON. iv. v. 272.

EUSTATHIUS in fine epist. ante DION. Περὶ τῆς SESOSTRIS Ægyptius, ut aiunt, cum multum terrarum peragrasset, itinera tabulis edidit, & tabularum descriptionem non solum Ægyptiis sed & Scythiis in admirationem impertiri dignatus est. Scythæ hi sunt Colchi Aelam incolentes, quorum posterī γράπτως πατέρων κύβρις habuerunt. MARSHAM.

portion of lands exempt from all taxes throughout the several nomes both of Thebais and of the Upper and Lower Ægypt. For the whole kingdom was divided by SESOSTRIS into thirty-six nomes, for the more easy administration of it; and over each were appointed deputies to take care of the king's revenues. The warlike spirit of this prince aspiring to despotic government, tended to aggrandize the military orders, but to diminish the authority of the priests. The empire, which SESOSTRIS had established, continued among his posterity for some generations; but the military interest, which from his time was grown considerable, raised at last great commotions, particularly in the Lower Ægypt; and several small dynasties were set up in prejudice to the Theban monarchy, till, in the reign of ANYSIS the Blind, SABACON an Ethiopian took advantage of their divisions, and invaded Ægypt. ANYSIS saved himself by flying to the fens, where he lay concealed, during the whole period that SABACON stayed in Ægypt, in an island called Elbo. That Ethiopian prince helped to re-establish the power of the priests, and, they say, returned back into his own country by the summons of an oracle, when he had reigned fifty years with great justice and clemency. It is recorded of him, that, instead of punishing malefactors with death, he employed them in raising mounds about the towns they belonged to; by which most of the towns in Ægypt are elevated so high above the waters. But his burning alive the Theban BOCCHORIS, a wife

and excellent prince, cannot be reconciled with that character. He also put to death NECHUS, sovereign of the Saite dynasty. After his departure, and the death of ANYSIS, SETHON a priest of VULCAN was invested with royal power; in whose reign the art military was neglected, and the profession of arms brought into contempt. Then priesthood began to revive, and the tyranny of superstition was set up. Thus did one extreme lead to another, and the military strength of Ægypt having served to establish arbitrary power, made way to its own destruction. By these revolutions things returned again into their ancient channel. The power and empire of Ægypt was reduced, and the state in the end was left defenceless. After the reign of SETHON they made an attempt to free themselves from kingly power, but the event was anarchy and confusion. Then twelve tyrants were set up by the different factions of the people, till PSAMMETICHUS, the son of NECHUS, defeated his colleagues by a foreign force, and once more established a monarchy. It flourished again for several reigns, till Ægypt became tributary to the king of Babylon, and was afterwards subjected by CAMBYSES to the Persian empire. But the Ægyptians are naturally headstrong and untractable; and by what I have observed of their disposition, they still breathe a spirit of liberty, and are as reluctant as ever to submit to a foreign yoke. Thou well knowest, CLEANDER, the bold efforts they made, both in the reign of XERXES, and in the beginning

of this. AMYRTEUS, who then, upon the defeat of INARUS, and the reduction of the country by MEGABYZUS, fled to the fens, still supports the old faction against Persia; and resides, as is reported, in the same inaccessible island where ANYSIS concealed himself so long. He reigns there like an independent prince over the followers of his fortune. But the friends of Persia have reason to fear a more numerous and formidable party among the malecontents of Ægypt, who might be willing to join him upon any desperate undertaking; and I am persuaded, that whenever an occasion offers, their attempts to become independent of Persia will be no less vigorous than they have heretofore been. Adieu.

L.

LETTER LXXXVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. *From Athens.*

I DEFERRED sending an account of the conclusion which is at last put to the business of Mitylene, till the various turns, which it has passed through, were over, and till I was able, by conversing with the principal persons who conducted the deliberations of the republic in the course of the affair, to lay before thee impartially the reasons which induced the people to inflict the utmost, I may say the most extravagant severities, with regard to the

unfortunate Mitylenians, in the first decree, and to soften the rigor of them in so remarkable a manner in the second, within the compass of a very few days.

I mentioned in former dispatches, that the Athenians seemed inclined to come to the extremest resolutions in punishing the revolt of Mitylene, as well to terrify the rest of their allies from shaking off their dependance, as to gratify that warm resentment which inflamed them against the inhabitants of Lesbos, from whom they least expected that such an ungrateful return would be made to their favors, and an example set to the other tributary islands, which might prove so prejudicial to the interests of this state. For these reasons, not to mention the naturally quick and sensible temper of the Athenians, and the flow of spirits into which every instance of good fortune throws them, it is no wonder, that, pushed on by the orators of CLEON's party, they have passed the following decree in the first assembly which they held upon the punishment of the Mitylenians:

“ Under the archonship of EUCLIDES, on
“ the fifth day of the month Hecatombeon,
“ THRASICLES, the son of MIDIAS of the tribe
“ of CECROPS, moved; That whereas the in-
“ habitants of Lesbos had, soon after the
“ Persian war, concluded an alliance with the
“ commonwealth of Athens, by which they
“ obliged themselves to pay yearly the sum of
“ fifteen talents; and furnish a squadron of
“ ships when demanded; and likewise to

“ remain firm allies to this state, as well in
“ defence of the general liberties of Greece,
“ as the rights and prerogatives of Athens in
“ particular; and whereas the Athenians, in a
“ just sense of the advantages they received
“ from this alliance, conferred immunities and
“ privileges on the inhabitants of Lesbos,
“ greater than those they bestowed on any
“ other people in their dependance; and
“ whereas the Lesbians, ungratefully forgetting
“ these benefits, did, on pretences void of
“ all foundation, not only violate the treaty
“ they have entered into, by withdrawing the
“ stipulated supplies of ships and money, but
“ likewise wholly desert the interests of the
“ republic in the midst of a dangerous and
“ expensive war, and by adding to the number
“ of its enemies, contribute as far as in them
“ lay to its utter ruin; and whereas the Athe-
“ nians, aided by the gods, the revengers of
“ infringed leagues, and the justice of the
“ divine NEMESIS, have reduced the city Mi-
“ tylene to surrender at discretion; be it de-
“ creed by the senate and people of Athens,
“ that for the punishment of these numerous
“ injuries, for a warning to the rest of their
“ allies who have yet preserved their fidelity
“ unshaken, and for the asserting of those rights
“ which an infraction of the most sacred ties
“ gives over a perjured ally, that the inhabit-
“ ants of Mitylene, who have attained the
“ age of manhood, be, without distinction,
“ put to death and the women and children
“ reduced to slavery, and sold by lots; and

“let CHARES, DION, and POLYCRATES, be chosen to see this decree put in execution.”

The faction, which drove on the people to these extremities, were so eager to put the last hand to their detestable cruelty, that they prevailed with them, that a galley should be immediately dispatched with the three commissioners on board, and orders to PACHES to carry the decree into execution. The day after they were sailed, the Athenians, agreeably to their character, began to soften; they found several citizens of authority amongst them did not approve of this severity, and thought a less degree of punishment not only more generous, but more prudent. At the same time the Mitylenian deputies used infinite art and industry, that the affair might be again debated; and by the force of their personal applications with men of honesty and good-nature, and motives of a less liberal kind with those of mercenary dispositions, obtained of the Prytanes, that another assembly should be convened to decide the business. When the people were met together in a great square near the citadel, and the usual sacrifices and lustrations were performed, a prayer was offered up for a blessing on the counsels of the republic. After the public crier had proclaimed thrice with a loud voice, ΤΙΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ ΔΙΑΓΟΡΕΥΕΙΝ; Who will give his opinion? I was very well pleased to see my friend PHILEMON, so often mentioned in the course of these letters, step forward with a placid dignity, and mount the tribunal. He began with telling

the people, that as sickness had prevented him from giving his opinion upon the affair in question the first time it was debated, he was extremely glad they had resumed their consultations, that he might have an opportunity of using that freedom in speaking his sentiments which they always allowed him. He was sorry to find, that the continuance of the war seemed not only to have effaced the impressions of humanity from their minds, but had even produced a disregard for the soundest maxims of policy. That it was a known observation, excessive punishments were far from having the effect proposed; they rather occasioned despair in the guilty, which was often the parent in them of efforts above their natural strength to recover their freedom, and to revenge themselves upon their oppressors. At the same time, the heightening the punishment with cruelty, exposed the inflictors to the hatred of their allies, who were justly apprehensive of the case becoming their own on the slightest ground of offence, and to the redoubled vigor of their enemies, to whom such proceedings appeared like a resolution never to sheath the sword. He desired them to observe, he did not speak against punishing the authors of a revolt; that was a piece of justice due both to themselves and the gods; but only against that indiscriminate sentence, which involved the innocent with the guilty, the misguided with the misguiders. He then put them in mind of recovering that reputation which they had formerly enjoyed for gentleness

and lenity, and which of late years he was grieved to say they had forfeited. He concluded thus: "Athenians, I have given that opinion which I think not only most honorable, but most advantageous for you. Let it not be said in Greece, that whilst Athens boasts of being the only city which has erected in one of its streets an altar to Compassion, the influence of that amiable divinity is totally erased from the hearts of its citizens."

The speech of PHILEMON was received with great approbation by his party; but it was immediately answered by orators of the other side, and the debate insensibly grew warm. CLEON at last rose, and with a vehemence both of action and utterance, harangued the assembly to the following effect: "That what had passed that day, was to him a sufficient proof, that a republican government was, of all others, the most improper to maintain authority. By putting an affair of this nature in deliberation, after it had been once resolved, they showed a softness in their nature, and an unsteadiness in their counsels, which would encourage their allies to rise against them upon every occasion. They could not surely be ignorant, that the authority they exercised over those allies was merely an usurped one; and that no favors they could bestow would be sufficient to prevent their seizing every opportunity to recover their independency. That in order to keep them steady to their first decree, he imagined he needed only put them in mind of the injuries which

“ they had suffered from the Lesbians, who,
“ both by their situation as an isle, and their
“ power as a nation, were out of all danger
“ of being enslaved by the Athenian arms; so
“ that their revolt proceeded from no other
“ motive than the restless humor of mankind,
“ which induces them to prefer a new and
“ incertain state of affairs to their present
“ condition, however happy. He declared,
“ he saw no reason for excepting any out of
“ the punishment, since they were all equally
“ concerned in the crime; and exhorted the
“ people to make an example of severity,
“ which might keep their allies within the
“ bounds of duty, whilst they were opposing
“ the attempts of their numerous enemies.”

The faction of CLEON testified, by clamors of applause, that his sentiments met with their concurrence. At the close of the debate DIODOTUS enforced the arguments for mercy in a very elaborate speech. He told the assembly, that their debating twice upon an affair of this importance, was an argument to him of their wisdom; since there were no greater enemies to prudent counsels than anger and precipitation. He did not think the point in debate was, whether the Lesbians were guilty or not; that was a point allowed on all hands; but whether the decree which they had passed two days before, was for the advantage of the state. On this head he observed, that in all cases of revolt a door should be left open for repentance; and it was more particularly reasonable with regard to a people, who, being once free,

could not be blamed for endeavouring to efface every mark of dependance. The argument he chiefly urged was, that as Greece and the adjacent isles were divided into the popular and aristocratical parties, the former of which sided with Athens, the latter wished well to the Peloponnesian cause, they ought to consider, that, by involving all the inhabitants of Mitylene in the punishment, the severity of it would fall heaviest upon their friends of the popular faction, who, as soon as they had seized the power, surrendered the city to the army of the republic. For these and other reasons (which I should tire thee with repeating) he moved, "That the former decree should be repealed, and the authors of the revolt only, amounting to about a thousand of the magistrates and rich citizens of Mitylene, be put to death; that the fortifications of the place should be demolished; their ships delivered up; and their land divided into two parts; the one to be dedicated to the service of the gods, the other to be shared out in lots to an Athenian colony."

The motion of Diodorus passed, on a division, but by a very few voices; and a galley was immediately dispatched with a repeal of the former decree. The rowers, encouraged by the promises and rewards of the Mitylenian deputies, made such expedition, as to arrive at Mitylene just time enough to prevent PACHES and the commissioners from putting their first orders in execution. Thou wilt easily imagine, with how much joy this news was received

by the inhabitants of Mitylene, who had nothing before their eyes but the preparations and executioners of their punishment.

I need not suggest to thee, enlightened minister, that the Athenians, by carrying their resentment so far against the revolted allies, and expressing the utmost unwillingness to afford the least hopes of pardon to those who may follow their example, point out themselves in what manner a war may be carried on against them to most advantage. For when once the colonies and tributary islands forsake this republic, and either set up governments of their own, or seek the protection of a stronger power, one may foretel, without divination, that the ruin of Athens is at hand. Farewel.

LETTER LXXXVII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

EVERY art, HYDASPES, that tends to the comfort or ornament of human life, took its first rise either from necessity or convenience; and I believe it often happens, that chance sketches out the rude design, which is afterwards improved, matured, and polished by reflection. That this was eminently the case in the origin of theatrical representations, is agreed on all hands. Tragedy and comedy were nothing

more in their beginnings than hymns to BACCHUS, whom my friend CRESIPHON the sophist considers in no other light than that of the best vine-dresser of antiquity. Some of his followers one day accidentally found a goat browsing in their vineyard. They took and sacrificed it to their dead, and perhaps deified, master, from motives of gratitude, as well as interest. The neighbours were called in, who joined with them in songs and dances; and the revelling being approved of by the company, was soon converted, we may suppose, into an annual solemnity. The persons who performed these extemporal hymns, either alternately or all together, were in succeeding times called the chorus. This custom was transferred into their cities, and the subject of it was very much altered; for the composers of the songs having almost exhausted their imagination, by constantly exercising it on the same argument, recited the actions of some illustrious hero with the praises of BACCHUS. Thus the thing continued till the days of THESPIA, who is allowed to have been the first who enlarged the scheme, and abolishing these rough and uncouth dithyrambs, (as the Greeks call them,) introduced just and regular entertainments of written poems. In aid of the chorus he brought a single actor upon the stage, who at fit intervals came out from the rest, and amused the audience with an account of the exploits of famous men; then retired again, when the chorus had taken breath, which was still the most considerable part of the performance. However,

However, by this means a new turn was given to it; the business of the chorus was lessened, and something like a plot or fable was introduced. THESPIS went about the villages in carts, daubed the faces of his actors with lees of wine, and contended for the premium of tragedy, a Goat; while others vied for the premium of comedy, a basket of Figs and a vessel of Wine. He lived about the time of SOLON, who, by procuring an order from the court of Areopagus, obliged him to lay down an employment so unprofitable to the state. That acute and penetrating lawgiver foresaw the consequences that would ensue, and (the Athenians say) in the spirit of divination foretold them.

ÆSCHYLUS improved upon this model, by adding a second actor, and diversifying the fable. As he was extremely diligent in the study of HOMER, he set the Iliad before his eyes as the standard of poetry. He observed the vivacity of the dialogues introduced there, and considered how much more agreeable they would appear, if exhibited in such a manner, as to seem real, and to flow naturally from the passions, sentiments, and behaviour of common life. Hence he thought of casting his plays into the form of conversation. By this time the chorus, which was at first the principal part of tragedy, was only an accessory ornament of it, and employed to relieve the actors, as the actors were before admitted to relieve that. Nay, the chorus, which was anciently the play itself, now served only

to express the sentiments of the by-standers, to take the side of injured innocence and virtue, and to suggest such reflections as the well-minded part of the audience might reasonably be supposed to make. **ÆSCHYLUS** taught the persons concerned in it, to make those movements in their dances, which are called the strophe and antistrophe. The first of them is from east to west, and intended to signify the diurnal course of the sun; the second is the reverse of that motion. After some time they sing the epode, in concert with the musical instruments, and stand still in the middle of the stage, intimating, by a quaint conceit, the stability of the earth in the centre. While **THESPIS** lived, the players had no regular place of representation, but contented themselves with the moveable stage I have named to you. **ÆSCHYLUS**, as he was received with public honors and encouragement in Athens after the death of **SOLON**, employed **ACATHARCHUS**, a skilful architect, to build a theatre at the expense of the state, and to contrive the decorations and scenery. He furnished his actors with masks, dressed them in flowing robes, agreeably to the characters they sustained on different occasions, and by the assistance of buskins advanced them to the lanced tallness of heroes. In this he accommodated himself to the prejudices of the multitude, who even to this day entertain a notion, that all the ancient warriors, except little **TYDEUS**, were of a size beyond the common standard of nature.

Thus is *ÆSCHYLUS* become the father of dramatic poetry; and as it is a greater instance of genius to invent than to improve, he may deserve perhaps more regard than any who have succeeded him. He has written one play, which is an aggravated description, but indeed finely drawn, of the distress of *XERXES* and his army in the late invasion; and represents the faithless and corrupted Persians as destitute of the favor of *OROMASDES*, while Greece was under the influence and protection of her guardian deities. The reading of this play has suggested one thing to me, with which I will conclude this letter; and though it may be thought perhaps by some a very laudable partiality, I can by no means approve it in *ÆSCHYLUS*, notwithstanding his great qualities: I mean, that whether the story will admit of it or no, yet the composers of tragedy, like their brethren the comic poets, love to wrest and warp the sentiments which arise from it, to the circumstances of the present times; they make frequent allusions to the ministers of state, and the measures pursued by their countrymen. They place every thing in a subordinate light to this arrogant republic: the strongest ties of decency and interest can preserve no government in Greece from these invidious comparisons; and her sister-city *Lacedæmon*, with their common enemy the Persian, are equally exposed to this abuse. Indeed it ought not to be wondered at, since an indifferent poet may recommend himself by this artifice to an Athenian audience; and the

excellent EURIPIDES, from a fatal error in so essential a particular, has more than once been forced to yield to a cringing competitor. In a word, HYDASPES, they are so zealous in doing justice to their national merit, that they take sometimes to themselves what was hardly intended by the writer; and are so fond of the least incense which is offered to their vanity, that they receive with eagerness the grateful tribute, and applaud not so much the good sense, as the flattery of the poet.

From Athens.

C.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER. *From Susa.*

DURING your stay at Susa, some years ago, you must have seen NEHEMIAH, the king's cup-bearer. Though it did not fall in your way to make an acquaintance with him, or to hear any account of him, that might engage your attention, yet I will venture to affirm, if you knew as much of him as I do, you would give him a very honorable place both in your esteem and your affections. He is by nation a Jew, and the son of one HACHALIAH, who, notwithstanding the encouragement shown to that province by our monarch and his predecessors, chose rather to dwell in Susa, than with his countrymen in the land inhabited by their ancestors. It was by means of the old man's

continual residence in this city, and the humility of his deportment, that his son was raised by degrees to a considerable office near the king's person, and enjoyed a large share of the royal favor. The queen's interest, joined to NEHEMIAH's, after a faithful attendance at court, procured him a commission of great importance to the distressed people of Judæa, which invested him with a power of rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem, settling the citizens in tranquillity, restoring their commerce, regulating the abuses that had crept into the customs, enjoining them by their law; in short, of making them satisfactory amends for a long and harassing captivity. Thus the indolence of the father, though complained of by his country, proved of real service to it, as it opened a way to the activity of the son to exert itself in re-establishing the singular and boasted policy of the Jews. So true is it, that OROMASDES works by methods unknown to men, to ends as unforeseen by them.

For many years NEHEMIAH was looked upon as a crafty and finished courtier, much attached to the interests of his nation, and, as those who hated him said, not a little to his own. For the gracious ARTAXERXES heaped on him great wealth, which was pretended to have been either illegally extorted by the sale of offices in his gift, or to have been cunningly procured from the king by every abject art of flattery and dissimulation. I, who knew him better, always saw him in an amiable light, but till lately never saw him in

a striking one. Since his last return from Palestine, I have had frequent conversations with him, and find, on examining into the state and history of the Jews, that I have hitherto received imperfect information concerning them; and, notwithstanding the more perfect information I have now received, I confess, CLEANDER, my delicacy is scarcely reconciled to them, either prejudice or common sense sticks so close to me.

NEHEMIAH is busy in soliciting a renewal of the powers formerly granted to him, which are just expired. During his government he administered justice with fidelity, and supported the authority of his master with unusual magnificence. He lived among his people twelve years, and executed all, or even more than could be expected from the most dextrous. Animated by his presence, they fortified and rebuilt Jerusalem, inasmuch that it vies with Sardis in grandeur; and to defend themselves from the incursions of their enemies, while they carried on the works, held their swords in one hand, and their trowels in the other. His table was open every day to an hundred and fifty chiefs among the Jews, and hospitably admitted strangers, who came from all parts to be witnesses of the thriving condition of his province. Whoever appeared in the city of any figure, was invited to the governor's house, received with courtesy, and entertained with liberality. There were constantly provided in his kitchen one ox and six choice sheep, and he treated his guests with the various wines

of the East, and the coast of the Greeks. These expenses he bore out of his own revenues, not only without laying any new tax on Judæa, but without accepting the regular income, by which those who had gone before him in that office were supported. This shows the spirit and temper of the man. The bounty of the king had enriched him; and he, from a sense of gratitude to his prince, and a love to his country, is well pleased with bestowing those riches to the honor, and in the service of both.

The Jews (a nation the most stubbornly bigotted to themselves) tell you, that when they were prosperous and independent, their constitution was founded on the narrow-minded scheme of separation from the converse of their neighbours, and a total exclusion from the arts and manners of other countries. They speak in the highest terms of their lawgiver, who was either an inspired prophet, a designing knave, or a warm-headed enthusiast; and being reputed the son of a king of Ægypt's daughter, though descended from a Jew, was educated in the schools of Ægyptian learning and legislation. Pretending to be supernaturally assisted, he rescued his fellows in a most unexampled manner from a state of intolerable slavery under the tyrant SALATIS. He conducted them by very painful marches into the land where they settled, and laid out the plan of a commonwealth for them, which is of a novel and peculiar cast. After his death they engaged in several unsuccessful wars, and were

at last reduced to an ignominious bondage in Babylon, where they submitted to the meanest employments. The mercy of CYRUS released them, XERXES confirmed them in their privileges, and many of them followed his arms into Greece. Much, however, was wanting to complete their restoration, when NEHEMIAH, in that genius of ancient policy which has long left the world, put himself at the head of large numbers returning into their country, redressed their grievances, emulated the fame of their first leader, and gained glory to himself, and strength to his people.

Believe me, O CLEANDER, the man must be actuated by a great soul, who, for the sake of a perverse nation, can despise the pleasures of retirement, the splendors of a court, and the smiles of his prince, to encounter the violence of the rash and the caution of the timorous, the whispers of the envious and the clamors of the factious, the absurdities of the weak and the opinions of the wise, in the capacity of a reforming statesman.

C.

LETTER LXXXIX.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS. *From Athens.*

AFTER the high compliments thou payest to my taste in distinguishing the particular excellence of every piece I have sent, and approving them all, it is by no means necessary to make such another to my disinterestedness, and to insist upon my laying out every Daric thou hast remitted, without entering into a detail of the prices. But such, I have observed, is the nature of the elegant arts, that a certain nobleness of spirit is inseparable from the character of the person who cultivates them with success, or admires them with judgment. PERICLES, whose taste governed that of all Greece, was most magnificent in this kind of expense; farther indeed than his fortune would allow, especially as he was too much a servant of the public to attend with exactness to his private affairs. Though, upon his death, this appeared to the whole city to be the case, it is but very lately that the younger PERICLES has been prevailed on to break that admirable collection, which his father had taught him to regard as the most valuable part of his inheritance. Here is an opportunity to do justice to thy commission; and I cannot but congratulate these favorite works of art, amongst which I have often walked with so much pleasure,

that they only quit the gallery of PERICLES to be more worthily placed in the palace of MEGABYZUS.

The dispute about ACHILLES's armor was painted by PARRHASIUS ²¹, for the prize at Samos., which he lost to TIMANTHES. The judges, it is agreed, by their decision, did not intend to determine the merit of the pieces, so much as to mortify his excessive vanity; but were disappointed, and he left their tribunal with this reflection, "that it was AJAX's "constant ill fortune to see an unworthy rival "preferred." In this composition ²² thou wilt observe nothing hard or glaring; the outline of the figures vanishes as it were into the ground; and every object lessens and grows indistinct in proportion to its distance. The strong light ²³ upon the principal group of the two heroes with the armor lying between them, catches the eye immediately, and goes off by degrees upon the less considerable parts. What

²¹ PARRHASIO nemo insolentius & arrogantius usus est gloria artis — ergo magnis suffragiis superatus a TIMANTHE Sami, in AJACE armorumque judicio. Herois nomine se moleste ferre dicebat, quod iterum ab indigno victus esset. PLIN. lib. xxxv. § 36.

²² Confessione artificium in lineis extremis palmam adeptus. — Extrema corporum facere, & desinentis picturae modum includere: rarum in successu artis invenitur; ambire enim debet se extremitas ipsa & sic definire, ut promittat alia post se. Ibid.

²³ Ne colorum claritas oculorum aciem offenderet, veluti per lapidem specularem intuentibus e longinquo: & eadem res nimis floridis coloribus austeritatem occulte daret. Ibid.

an amazing effect of art is this, compared with the performances of the old masters! The utmost effort of EUMARUS ²⁴ was to distinguish the sex by the shape of his figures; ARDICES of Corinth found no better a way than to write under them; and CIMON first varied that single upright attitude in use till his time. While they found such difficulty to represent nature, it was not to be expected they should improve it; and not yet masters of design, they could not turn their thoughts upon the artifices of coloring. But there is a curiosity in these rude essays; and the specimen I send will lead thee through the whole progress of the art.

The like degrees of improvement may be observed in the suite of statues from DIPOENUS and ANTHERMUS to PHIDIAS and POLYCLETUS. The Hermæ, which I take to be the first attempts, are very imperfect; they are only a head upon a square block of stone: but the succeeding ages have considered this form as something sacred, and the greatest men are still thus represented. When they advance as far as whole figures, they merely copied what they had seen in Ægypt. Compare the Castor and Pollux of DIPOENUS with the Osiris and Orus; the legs joined together, the arms stuck close to the sides, and the drapery growing

²⁴ Qui primus in pictura marem foeminamque discrevit, EUMARUM — & CIMONEM Cleonæum: Hic catagrapha invenit, hoc est obliquas imagines, & varie formare vultus, respicientes, fuspicientesque, & despicientes. PLIN. lib. xxxv. § 34. ARDICES Corinthius quos pingeret, adscribere institutum. Ibid. § 5.

as it were to the body, prove them of the same family. But the Greeks will not allow this original of sculpture, which robs their DÆDALUS of the invention. The accounts of this hero (for so he is styled) are like all of his age, obscured with fable; yet in many parts of Greece, if we may believe a constant tradition, works of his are still to be seen. One of these ²⁵, in the same gross manner of carving, thou wilt find in this collection; it is a small ebony figure of one of the attendants of Bacchus, and performs of itself those attic tumblings used in the processions of the gods. This is done by quicksilver in the cavity of the image; a contrivance which an old author expressly ascribes to DÆDALUS, and which may account for the greatest miracles related of his art.

Among these ancient rarities ²⁶ I would place the large earthen vases from Magna Græcia; the paintings on them are as much above the grotesque Ægyptian taste, as they are below the Greek correctness. Of the same rank are the Etruscan statues and bas reliefs, which have all of them some inscription in the old language of their country, long since obsolete.

²⁵ φιλιππῶν ὁ Κωμωδιδασκαλὸς Φησὶ, τὸν Δαίδαλον κινεμένην ποιῆσαι τὴν ξυλῆν Ἀφροδίτην, ἐγχείαντα Ἄργυρον χυτόν. Aristot de Anima. — Somewhat like the Japonese Puppet, shown at MARGAS in 1740.

²⁶ Still found in the kingdom of Naples and in Tuscany.

The most beautiful proportions ²⁷, collected from a number of the choicest objects, disposed in the most graceful attitudes the master's idea could frame, and finished with the most scrupulous care, compose what POLYCLETUS calls his canon, his pattern of symmetry. He has given us also a treatise under the same title, wherein he lays down and illustrates the principles he went upon in his work. It is the roll I have put into the hand of the figure.

Instead of the nobleness and grace, which we admire in POLYCLETUS, STIPAX ²⁸ of Cyprus presents you with a view of common nature. His subject is a favorite slave of PERICLES, broiling steaks over a fire, which he blows with his mouth. But the droll pictures of PYREICUS ²⁹ are perfect in this way; his markets and barbers shops are the very things themselves. No poetical imagination, no divine

²⁷ Πάσας ἐκ διδάξας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ συγγραμμάτων τὰς συμμετρίας τῶ σώματι ὁ Πολύκλειτος, ἡρώ τον λόγον ἐβεβαίωσε, ὅμη κρηῆσας Ἀνδριαντὰ κατὰ τὰ τῶ λογῶ προσάγματα, καὶ καλεσας δὴ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀνδριαντὰ, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ συγγράμμα, Κανὼν. Galen. ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' Ἱπποκρ. καὶ Πλατ.

²⁸ STIPAX Cyprius uno celebratur signo, Splachnopte; PERICLES Olympii vernula hic fuit, extra torrens, ignem oris pleni spiritu accendens. PLIN. lib. xxxiv. § 19.

²⁹ PYREICUS arte paucis postferendus — humilia secutus, humilitati summam adeptus est gloriam; tonstrinas futrinasque pinxit & asellos & obsonia ac similia — in iis consummatae voluptatis; quippe ea pluris veniēre, quam maximae multorum. PLIN. lib. xxxv. § 37. Like REMBRANDT and TENIERS.

airs, no elegant draperies, but such countenances, such habits, such accidents, as one daily sees among the common people. His landscape is agreeable to his figures; for cascades, and temples, and porticos, he varies his scene with a pond, a hovel, or a mill. But there is such a truth of design, and such an amazing force of coloring, that he divides the suffrages of the curious with ZEUXIS himself. The portraits³⁰ of this master are no less esteemed: he expresses the whole man in such a manner, that the physiognomists have formed their judgment from his draughts with the same success as from the life itself.

There is a delicacy and brightness in enamel, that takes every eye. We owe this invention to the genius of POLYGNOTUS³¹; and thou wilt perceive to what perfection he has brought it, by the groupe of Trojan ladies, which he copied from a large history of his own in the Pœcile. The celebrated ELPINICE, whom the common talk of Athens makes the painter's mistress, sat for the principal figure³².

The silver vases³³ and pateræ are of Mentor; the brazen lamps and helmets of Calamis and Mys. There is something so grand in the general shape of these, the bas reliefs

³⁰ This is told of APOLLES by PLINY, lib. xxxv. § 36. but is more likely to be true of such a painter as PRAECIUS.

³¹ Encausticæ picturæ extiterê POLYGNOTI. Ibid. § 39.

³² PLUTARCH. in CIMONE.

³³ Like the vases and ornaments of POLYDORE and JULIO ROMANO.

are so justly designed, the foliage is so loose and tender, and every ornament so advantageously disposed, that one would wonder to see so much taste and diligence thus employed. But such furniture is in the highest request here, and the most trifling utensil must be the work of a good hand. The head ³⁴ embossed upon the golden shield is that of a Carthaginian general, who commanded in Sicily, done by his countryman BOETHUS; so magnificent also are these proud merchants. It was a present to PERICLES from the Syracusan, who took it in battle.

The last and most considerable accession to this collection was owing to the gratitude of PHIDIAS. When he was dying in prison, he bequeathed to his beloved patron the citron cabinet in the form of a Doric temple: in this were deposited all the studies for his great works, and whatever of the same kind he had got together of other masters. Here is the model ³⁵ of his MINERVA, with the contrivance for taking off the gold used in the ornaments; which, when he was accused, he offered to do before the assembly, and proved by the weight he had not embezzled it. As all the public buildings were under his direction, the designs of architecture are in vast quantities; they will thoroughly acquaint thee with those

³⁴ Poeni ex auro facitavere & clypeos & imagines, secumque in castra tulere. Faciem reddi in scuto cujusque, qui fuerit usus illo. PLIN. lib. XXXV. § 4.

³⁵ PLUTARCH. IN PERICLE.

stately fabrics; and on thy sofa at Susa thou mayest survey at leisure the magnificence of Athens. The sketch ³⁶ of the battle of Marathon is by PANÆNUS; the painting from it fills the principal compartments in the Pœcile. The heads of the generals are very slightly marked in the design; in the picture the Greek captains were drawn from the life. From whence PANÆNUS had his ideas of our commanders, I know not; but thy uncle ARTAPHERNES, who is drawing a bow at the head of the Parthian horse, has very much thy air. It is for that circumstance I mention this design. It would be endless to point out the beauties that fill this cabinet; for not an artist of reputation but paid his court to the favorite of PERICLES by some specimen of his skill. I must confess, I have more pleasure in turning over these unfinished sketches, than in viewing the more labored pieces. The fire, that is struck out at the first thought, is often lost in the progress of the work; and the genuine character of the master appears in the drawing, which in the picture must in some degree be sacrificed to the taste of the public. With how few touches do they give the strongest expressions? And what a readiness of conception must have produced that freedom of stroke?

Upon

³⁶ Panænus — prælium apud Marathona factum pinxit; — in eo prælio Ionicos duces pinxisse traditur, Atheniensium MILTIADEM, &c. BARBARORUM DATIM, ARTAPHERNEM. PLIN. lib. xxxv. § 34.

Upon the report of my having purchased this collection, which I am supposed to do by commission from my brother HIPPIAS for some Ionian lords, ZEUXIS³⁷ paid me a visit, and offered me with great politeness some of his most capital designs. I would have made him a suitable return; but he assured me, it had been long his practice not to accept of any. SOCRATES too, the young philosopher, whom I have often mentioned in my letters to SMERDIS, has obliged me with the models of his three graces, which are among the chief ornaments of the Acropolis³⁸. He said at the same time with a smile, "You see, my friend, I began by studying the outside of man."

When PHIDIAS was removed from the superintendence of the public works, several of the most eminent masters came hither from all parts of Greece, in hopes of succeeding him. But men's minds were at that time so inflamed by the two parties contending for the management of the state, that what tended to the splendor and ornament of it was entirely neglected; and the war, which broke out soon after, has been carried on at such an expense, as to engross the whole revenue. The designs begun in the late administration are still suspended; and the marble imported by PERICLES from Paros and Lesbos, lies half wrought in

³⁷ ZEUXIS donare opera sua instituit, quod ea nullo satis digno pretio permutari posse diceret. PLIN. lib. xxxv. § 36.

³⁸ Charites in Propylæo Atheniensium non possidentur, quas SOCRATES fecit. PLIN. lib. xxxvi. § 4.

many parts of the city. One of these disappointed artists, TELEPHANES³⁹ of Phocis, applied to me for a recommendation to my Ionian correspondents; and brought with him the model of a statue of the heroine LARISSA, which he had made for the city of that name in Thessaly. It pleased me so much, that I engaged him immediately. Indeed I should think thy commission imperfectly executed, did I not accompany the collection with a person qualified to arrange and to have the care of it. He has given in a design for a repository, which, with the little alterations to be made upon the spot, may be erected either in thy gardens at Susa, or in the midst of that delicious grove, which makes thee so fond of the suburb of Ecbatana. As I found him extremely mortified at the neglect shown him here, I discovered to him my real intention of sending him into Persia. He received it with great satisfaction, and thanked his good fortune, which took him from a country, where the storms of opposite factions spared not even the genius of a PHIDIAS, to place him in those happy climates, where thou presidest, and sufferest no cloud of envy or

³⁹ Miris laudibus celebrant & TELEPHANEM Phocæum, ignotum alias, quoniam in Thessalia habitaverit, ubi lauerint opera ejus; alioqui — æquatur POLYCTETO, MYRONI, PYTHAGORAE. Laudant ejus Larissam. — Alii non hanc ignobilitatis fuisse causam, sed quoniam se regum XERXIS & DARIÏ officinis dediderit, existimant. PLIN. lib. xxxiv. § 10.

detraction to entervene between the cheering beams of royal favor, and the virtue that deserves them.

W.

LETTER XC.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES. *From Athens.*

PHILEMON returned home the other evening in a very peevish humor from some debate in the assembly, which it seems had been carried on with a peculiar vehemence. “ I have
“ long thought it, said he, a signal instance
“ of the decay of oratory in our public coun-
“ cils, that speaking to the purpose is laid
“ now-a-days entirely out of the notion of
“ eloquence. The young men, instead of
“ informing themselves in the merits of the
“ question, are pleased with premeditated wit-
“ ticisms, convinced by subtle fallacies, and
“ suffer themselves to be led away by the force
“ of invectives, rather than the weight of ar-
“ gument. The old ones are foolish enough
“ to encourage them in this fatal way of think-
“ ing; are artful enough to persuade them,
“ that they embrace patriotism in adhering to
“ a faction; are mean enough to flatter these
“ boys of premature judgments and no ex-
“ perience; and are wicked enough to spoil the
“ whole rising generation, for the sake of
“ those fordid views which interest a part only

“ of the present. You know young NEOCLES,
“ descended from THEMISTOCLES, the most
“ celebrated admiral in Greece. He entertained
“ us to-day with a speech, composed of what —
“ wilt thou believe me? of a wire-drawn
“ simile. He played the image before us in a
“ thousand shapes. To say nothing of its
“ being remote from the matter in hand, it
“ was imagined with no delicacy, and ex-
“ pressed with no spirit.” I know him well,
answered I, and could name many others
who resemble him in this idle turn, and yet
by no means equal him in the rest of his cha-
racter. The last time I accompanied you to
the assembly, the Mitylenian decree came on,
a determination of the last importance to the
commonwealth and her allies. Do not you
recollect, how the forward EPÆNETUS attempt-
ed to answer the wise and elaborate oration
of DIODOTUS with equal petulance and igno-
rance; for he spoke neither sensibly nor gram-
matically? The same youth, in PERICLES’s time,
opened and revived a point of infinite per-
plexity and obscurity, which could never be
decided by our most intelligent legislators, re-
lating to some privilege claimed mutually be
the senate and the people; and the dispute
therefore for many years had been wisely laid
asleep. His speech was filled, not with prece-
dents furnished him by the Thesmothetæ, but
with personal reflections dictated by CLEON; for
which the same CLEON publicly commended him
in the most fulsome strain of adulation, and com-
pared him to the greatest of the Athenian heroes.

On that occasion, I was charmed with the behaviour of PERICLES, who, according to his custom, resuming all the arguments that had been dropt in the debate, thought it right at the same time to express his contempt for these levities, and with exquisite art and decency began to the following effect: "That he could be as well pleased as any of the citizens in Athens, that the young men should be remarkable for the same spirit of liberty, which had distinguished their ancestors; but should be better pleased, if they added to it the sagacity and prudence, which might enable them to discern the nice and intricate nature of questions of right between the senate and the people." PHILOSTRATUS, the nephew of the trierarch, your acquaintance, and DITHYRAMBUS, the son of the Areopagite, are in the same party with those I have just mentioned to you, and both of them are late initiates. PHILOSTRATUS has parts and learning; but by taking a wrong turn in the management of popular business, as yet he has never made a considerable figure. He chuses the warm and declamatory, not the cool and rational way of speaking; and professes to enter into no subject, as he expresses it, except when he is raised by it, or, as a plain man would say, in a downright passion. DITHYRAMBUS does not aim at the improvements of knowledge, and has received from nature a shattered understanding. In one respect he is more modest than PHILOSTRATUS, as he declares himself concerned for his violence of temper; and in

another respect as unhappy, because he never attempts to correct it. How lost is the condition of that state, which is governed by the frivolous or the vicious, the partial or the mad! "But, continued PHILEMON, can you wonder, that those, who have not passed the exercises of their childhood with even tolerable industry or success, should, when they become a few years older, appear to no advantage in the public eye? Can you wonder, that they, who have not so much as received a superficial tincture of the sciences, but who have been educated either in an indolence which enervates their faculties, or an activity which debases them, should turn out bad counsellors and bad men? It is not to be wondered at; it is the natural and the necessary consequence of the vice or inattention that has infected their minds early, and they have no one to upbraid for it, but themselves and their instructors. I wish, added he, the old laws, which enjoin an accurate inspection into the lives and qualifications of the orators, were maintained in their full force. We should then be free from those gnats and wasps of the community, that exert their stings fretfully and wantonly, without contributing in any sort to the general good." "After all, interposed I, the worst of the matter is, that the evil so heavily complained of is not confined to the faction of GLEON and TOLMIDES; it extends even to our best citizens, when the power is vested in their hands. For this cunning,

which is generally practised by the opposers of the majority and its leaders, produces the craft of ministerial influence and corruption." "And," said an Athenian in the room with us, who till this moment had been silent, "in such cases what is to be done? Virtue is an unequal combatant for vice. The arts of the one are slow and dilatory; those of the other more ready and expeditious: the one are not accommodated to the generality of mankind; the other fall in with every complexion, and veiled in certain plausible appearances, will operate on the infirmities of the wisest. If the men you have been blaming apply themselves to the vanity or ambition of their neighbours, wisdom will teach you, as it were in self-defence, to lay hold of their other foibles, to feed their avarice, and gratify the imaginary wants of luxury." Farewel then, exclaimed I, to every generous and worthy principle! Farewel to every enlarged and uniform plan of policy! Indeed melancholy is the prospect, when the strength of ministers consists, not in the superiority of their own sense; but the weakness of others; when the countenance of public virtue sickens with the pale cast of fraud and dissimulation; when all the notions of integrity, so natural to the untainted hearts of youth, are industriously damped by these veterans in political iniquity, and crushed in the very shell. Such being the arts of government, and such the dangers to which it is exposed, I ask no

“ other favor of the gods , than that they would
 “ never place me on that pinnacle of greatness,
 “ from whence I may behold this scene of
 “ guilt and folly ; much less where I may be
 “ instrumental in the encouragement of either.”

C.

LETTER XCI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. *From Athens.*

THERE have been several reports current in the city concerning the fleet, which, as I mentioned in former letters, was sent by the Peloponnesian allies to the relief of Mitylene. It is now certain, that after having been dispersed by a storm near Crete, they regained the coast of Peloponnesus, and were joined near Cyllene by sixteen gallies, under the command of BRASIDAS the Spartan, an officer of rising reputation. When they had received this reinforcement, they pursued their course, as it is supposed, for Corcyra, to take advantage of the disorders which have lately arisen there. The Athenians have lately received dispatches from their ambassadors in that island, written during the height of the sedition, which gave some account of the rise and motives of it. Thou mayest remember, noble scribe, that several naval battles were fought between that state and Corinth, whilst the quarrel lasted which preceded this war.

The Corinthians sent home their prisoners without ransom; and they, as a return of gratitude, used their utmost endeavours to prevail with their fellow-citizens to break the alliance with Athens, and to join the Peloponnesian army. Being strongly opposed in this unjust attempt by PYTHIAS, president of the senate, they accused him of conspiring to deliver up the town to the Athenians; but when the cause came to a trial, they were unable to prove their charge, and condemned to pay a large fine. This ill success so exasperated the accusers, that they raised a tumult, and at the head of a faction, which opposed the Athenian interest, entered the senate by violence, and massacred above sixty senators of that party, and PYTHIAS amongst them. The seditious afterwards assembled the people, and maintained, that what they had done was necessary to preserve the independence and liberty of the island. The Athenians, upon the receipt of these dispatches, sent orders to NICOSTRATUS, admiral of their squadron at Naupactus, to sail directly to Corcyra, and support the democracy. They are likewise preparing to equip a larger squadron for the same service, if the increase of the tumult should make it necessary. They are the more concerned at this sedition, because the naval force of Corcyra renders that island a very useful ally: its fleet, at the beginning of the war, was reckoned equal to that of any of the Grecian states, except Athens.

I doubt not, that CRATIPPUS has informed thee of the proceedings against the unfortunate

Platæans, since that affair falls more naturally within his province than mine. I shall, however, lay a brief narrative of it before thee. The commander of the siege, observing that the inhabitants of Platæa were reduced to great extremities, summoned them to surrender, on condition that no punishment should be inflicted upon them, till their cause had been tried and determined according to the rules of justice. In pursuance of the capitulation, twenty-five commissioners were sent from Lacedæmon, who, without laying any crime to the charge of the Platæans, put this single question to every one of them, "Have you done any service to our state during the war?" The Platæans, sensible of the tendency of this strange examination, represented in the most pathetic terms, the services which their city had done to Greece in the Persian invasion, and the honors which had been decreed them for their public spirit; to which they added, that they had not embraced the Athenian alliance, till the Lacedæmonians had deserted them. They accused the Thebans of being the source of their misfortunes, by attempting to surprise their city in the midst of peace. The Theban ambassadors, in an inflammatory harangue, reproached the Platæans with having forsaken Thebes, their mother city, to fight under the banners of the Athenians, whom they called the tyrants of Greece. They said, the merits of their ancestors, instead of being a plea in their favor, were an addition to their crimes, since they had degenerated from their virtues. That the

Thebans, far from attempting to take Platæa in an hostile manner, (as had been represented,) were introduced by some of its wealthiest and worthiest citizens, with no other views than to assist their countrymen in shaking off an unnatural alliance.

The Lacedæmonian commissioners, who had private orders to sacrifice Platæa to the resentment of the Thebans, persisted in demanding a reply to the question proposed; and as it was answered in the negative by every one of the captive Platæans, they were all put to death without mercy, to the number of two hundred. When the news of this illegal and barbarous act arrived here, the Athenians, to express their just sense of the fidelity and resolution of the Platæans, gave the freedom of the city, and a privilege of being elected into offices, to the survivors and their children. The names of these new citizens were engraved on a column, and set up in the citadel near the temple of MINERVA.

An accident lately happened to me, which had almost discovered my real business at Athens, and laid me at the mercy of the resentful multitude. One CHREMES, a merchant of Chios, who deals in wines, was taken up by order of the Prytanes, on suspicion of managing a correspondence with Thebes and Sparta. Several papers, relating chiefly to the condition of the Athenian docks, arsenals, and navy, were found in the wine vessels and other places of concealment in his house, which were examined in the senate, and a

report afterwards made to the people, of the discovery. Among these papers was a letter from CRATIPPUS, which CHREMES had not an opportunity of putting into my hands before he was seized. A great clamor was raised immediately over the city against me. The merchant was examined, but declared he had very little acquaintance with me, and not much more with CRATIPPUS, whom he had seen at Rhodes, and knew nothing of the contents of the letter. I was summoned however to attend the tribunal of the Archon Polemarch, (who has a jurisdiction over strangers,) and found one of the ten orators appointed by the state to plead public causes, prepared with an indictment against me, importing, that I had violated the laws of hospitality, and wickedly made use of my abode at Athens to keep up a correspondence prejudicial to the republic. When I came to make my defence, I alledged that there was nothing appeared from the letter, which could any ways render me obnoxious to the state. That, far from having corresponded with CRATIPPUS, it appeared from the letter itself, that I had not answered one which he had written to me. That the passage wherein he mentioned the *coincidence of our employments*, referred only to the collections of curious statues and pictures, which we both made in our travels. That the rest of the letter was nothing but news of an indifferent nature, which there was no law to prevent one friend from communicating to another. Several of my Athenian friends did

me the honor to testify, that my behaviour, during above four years residence in the city, had been very fair [and unblamable; and that neither from my acquaintance, conversation, or actions, I had given the least suspicion of carrying on any practices against the state. By this means I got rid of a troublesome affair, which I have reason to believe was fomented by CLEON, to revenge himself upon me for a satire against him, in which he suspected I was concerned. The piece which gave him this singular offence, was composed one night at CLINIAS's, at a symposium, where ARISTOPHANES the comic poet and myself were present. When supper was over, being heated with wine, and enlivened by the gaiety of the conversation, we went out in a body, crowned with garlands, and with torches in our hands, and sung the sarcastical iambics under CLEON's windows. But it happens always in a divided state, that when any person is opposed by one side, the party in whose cause he suffers take him into their protection; for CLEON's resentment against me excited the zeal of his enemies to represent the prosecution as groundless and malicious.

The season is very unhealthy here, for the great rains which fell last winter, having stagnated in the low and marshy grounds about the city, are corrupted by the violent heats of the summer, and the air is greatly infected. HIPPOCRATES apprehends another plague. Should that dreadful calamity break out again, I shall beg leave (if the king has no occasion

for my service in any other part of Greece) to make a short visit to my family at Ephesus.

Noble scribe, I live in daily expectation of thy letters, which will not be less acceptable to me, than the cheering rays of MITHRAS are to the bosom of the hard earth, which has felt the severity of the winter's frosts. Adieu.

P.

LETTER XCII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. *From Memphis.*

I HAVE always thought, CLEANDER, that one of the principal ends of travelling was to know the laws and policies of other countries; and that many wise and excellent things might be learnt from the usages and institutions of foreign nations, which were wanting in our own. In the appointment of laws for the well-ordering of mankind, a regard has been every where had to certain unchangeable principles in the nature of things, which, previous to any human laws, inferred an universal obligation upon all rational creatures. But it was the depravity of mankind, that made the authority of the human law-giver necessary, and caused the sanction of civil punishments to be superadded to the primary obligation which our natural sense of right and wrong inculcated upon us. And without this provision, the ends of our entering into society could not be

answered; for though the things that are naturally good or evil, seem obvious to the common reason of all men, yet the bulk of the human race would not in all instances be capable of discerning them. And unless such things as are obligatory in their own nature, were further enjoined by human laws, many would be ignorant of their obligation to them; and many who know what they should do, would nevertheless, to excuse themselves, pretend ignorance. For which reason I applaud the wisdom of our own legislature ⁴⁰ in punishing ingratitude, a kind of immorality the most odious in its nature, however it happens to have escaped the censure of the laws in other countries. It may indeed be said, ingratitude is not of the same nature with those crimes which do open violence to the rights of mankind, and tend directly to destroy the being of society. Yet I shall always believe, what I was early taught to maintain in the schools of Persia, that the wretch who is capable of ingratitude, has broke loose from every tie that engages us to our friends, our parents, or our country.

In speaking of the Egyptian laws, the consideration of which has led me to this subject, there are two or three that I shall first mention, which are established upon sure and unerring principles of reason and truth; and the sanction of which seems to be prescribed or limited according to the moral differences of things. The first is, "that whoever kills another

⁴⁰ XENOPH. Cyropæd.

“ wilfully, whether the person he kills be a
 “ bond-slave or a free man, shall suffer death ⁴¹.”
 For the malignity of this crime consists in the
 injustice of the action, and the malice and
 cruelty of the person who commits it; and
 however the quality of the suffering party may
 differ, the malice, cruelty, and injustice of the
 action is still the same. For the further se-
 curity of the innocent against the indirect at-
 tempts and secret villany of mischievous and
 designing men, it is by law appointed, “ that
 “ false accusers shall suffer the same punishment,
 “ which the falsely accused were to have un-
 “ dergone, had they been convicted of the
 “ offence.” A plain principle of natural jus-
 tice, that the innocent should not suffer with
 the guilty, prescribes to them another of their
 laws, “ that women with child, who have
 “ incurred the penalty of death, shall not be
 “ executed till they are delivered;” a rule of
 justice which ought certainly to be received
 in every state, and followed by every tribunal,
 as it has already been received in Greece, and
 particularly, as I am informed, by the solemn
 council of Areopagus. I more wonder, that
 this principle of natural justice should ever have
 been violated in the laws of any country, than
 that it is adhered to so strictly in this. I have
 often thought, CLEANDER, that custom in
 Persia ⁴², which for the perfidy and treason
 of

⁴¹ DIOD. SICUL. lib. i. c. 6.

⁴² JUSTIN. lib. x. c. 2. AMMIAN. MARCELL. lib. xxiii.
 c. 31. Leges apud Persas impendio formidatæ, inter quas

of one person dooms his whole family, with all the innocent branches of it, to utter extirpation, a most unjust appointment, and cruelty in the highest excess. Pardon me, my friend, this freedom of censuring the laws of that state to which I am attached by every solemn tie, and to whose laws I shall always pay the strictest obedience. The wretch who betrays his allegiance to his prince, without doubt deserves the severest tortures. But why must the innocent and the guilty be involved in the same punishment? I fear the natural injustice of such a sentence can hardly be palliated upon the reason commonly alledged, that the punishment is enhanced to the guilty by being extended to all who are so unfortunate as to be allied to him. I am strongly sensible of the horrid nature of this crime, and am persuaded men ought to be deterred by the severest examples from attempting it. Yet I cannot understand, why those who are no sharers in the guilt, should suffer more than they do in the punishment of the guilty person, for that, which is of itself the greatest calamity to any family to happen in it. A whole kindred in this case is destroyed at random; and some perhaps among them, who, if spared, might, from the awe of so near an example, as well as the goodness of their own nature, have distinguished themselves more signally for their

diritate exuperant latæ contra ingratos & desertores. Abominandæ aliæ, per quas ob noxam unius omnis propinquitæ perit.

loyalty to their sovereign, than the criminal person had done for his perfidy and treason. If the punishment of the criminal is thought likely to raise resentment from the family, and put them, who are left, upon meditating revenge; yet will not men naturally be more desperate, when, without any regard had to their own innocence, they are destined to suffer for another's offence? I have reasoned with great freedom upon the matter; but the few instances we have of this law's being executed in its full rigor, since the unhappy fate of INTAPHERNES⁴³ in the reign of DARIUS, warrants me to believe, that it has appeared just and equitable to the lenity of our mighty monarchs to mitigate the severity of it. Alike severe in its kind is another law we have against deserters⁴⁴. But if the infliction of severity is never the principal end of punishments, and a regard ought to be had in them as well to the reformation of the offender, where that may be, as to the putting a restraint upon other men; I should think the case of deserters better provided for by the laws of Ægypt than by those of Persia. For amongst other excellent rules of military discipline, it was appointed by SESOSTRIS, "That soldiers who mutinied
 " or fled from their colors, though not punished
 " with death, should be degraded from their
 " post, and stigmatized in the most public
 " manner with all possible marks of disgrace,

⁴³ HEROD. lib. iii. c. 119.

⁴⁴ AMMIAN. MARCELL. loco jam citato.

“ and yet be permitted to resume again their
“ military character, if they wiped off that
“ disgrace afterwards by some brave and va-
“ lorous action.” By this he intended, that
dishonor and infamy should be looked upon
as the greatest evils, and more grievous than
death itself. He considered also, that those
who were put to death, could never be fur-
ther serviceable to their country; but such as
were degraded only, might, for the shame
they had incurred through their past misconduct,
and from a desire to recover their reputation,
exert themselves with redoubled vigor, and
be the more useful for the time to come. These
are instances, CLEANDER, of such laws as have
a moral fitness in their own nature, and the
form and sanction of each seems to be pre-
scribed or limited from the nature of the thing
itself. But with regard to laws in general, it
must be observed, that though they are all
founded upon one natural principle, of virtue
being rewardable, and vice punishable; yet
the particular kind of sanction is not always
so clearly pointed out from the nature of the
thing itself, but left to the discretion of the
law-giver to appoint. And therefore, though
the offence in itself be naturally punishable,
the positive part of the law, which determines
the punishment, however wisely designed,
may not be universally binding. If then the
laws of this country in some instances appear
singular, we are to consider how well they
answer the thing proposed; they may not be
less wise, because, in those circumstances which

are arbitrary and positive, they differ from our own. It is the institution of this country to punish perjury with death: the punishment is indeed arbitrary; but if we reflect upon the heinousness of the crime, that it is the most daring impiety against the gods, and a violation of the strongest bands of faith amongst men, we shall have less reason to think it disproportionate to the offence.

The laws of nature seem in general to require, that he who hath unjustly taken away the life of another, should himself be put to death. But when this heinous crime is attended with other aggravating circumstances; when the offender hath violated the strictest ties of blood, besides the common ties of nature, especially if he has taken away the life of those who were the authors of life to him, all nations are agreed to punish such execrable impiety, not only with death, but with the most lingering kinds of it, and the severest tortures they could invent. For it has always been esteemed the wickedest act that men could be guilty of, to take away the lives of them from whom they received their own. But when a case happens the reverse of this, "that a parent shall destroy its offspring," it is surely an horrid and unnatural act, and equally unjust as the other. For although the parent be the instrument of giving life to its child, yet have they no better right to take that life away, than the child has to take away the life of its parent. But it has been thought, that the violating that natural awe and veneration,

which is due from the child to the parent, aggravates the heinousness of the act in the former instance, which it does not in the latter; and that regard should be had to this difference in determining the punishment. And upon this the Egyptian law seems to be founded relating to such parents, and is indeed a remarkable one; "That parents, who killed their children, should not die themselves, but be forced for three days and nights together to hug them continually in their arms, and have a guard all the while over them to see they did it." This was doubtless thought a punishment, which would be attended with the deepest sorrow and compunction. The inexpressible horror and remorse that the wretch must feel upon the occasion, it was thought, would be as effectual to deter men from the unnatural act, as even death itself. By the law of this country, "if any upon the road saw a man likely to be killed, and did not rescue him, being able, he was to die for it; and if he were not able to defend him, yet he was bound to discover the ruffians, and to prosecute them in a due course of law: if he neglected this, he was to be scourged with a certain number of stripes, and to be kept without food for three days together." The sanctions of this law are arbitrary and positive; but the law goes upon a supposition in the first instance, that he, who being able, did not defend the assaulted person from violence, was accessory to the violence committed upon him; and the neglect punishable

in the second is, his not having done all he might, in order to discover the ruffians, and bring them to justice. Yet it must be owned, the penalties in this law are exceeding strict, and would, I fear, be in many instances unjust. A like positive sanction belongs to these other laws, "That such as revealed the secrets of
" the army to the enemy, were to have their
" tongues cut out. That they who coined false
" and adulterated money, or contrived false
" weights or counterfeited seals, and scriven-
" ers who forged deeds, or razed public re-
" cords, or produced any forged contracts,
" were to have both their hands cut off." Which all go upon this notion, that every one ought to suffer in the part wherewith he had offended, in such a manner as not to be repaired during life. And so in the case of adultery, the woman was to lose her nose, that she might be punished in that part where her charms chiefly lay.

Now as there are some things, which being not of absolute and universal obligation, are nevertheless fit and convenient in certain instances, and some, which, as the exigencies of human affairs require, are necessary to be provided for only at particular times and in particular places; the laws relating to these things are not of a mixed nature, but merely positive both as to the matter and form. By a law of this sort, all the Ægyptians are enjoined to give in their names in writing to the governors of the provinces, showing how and by what means they got their livelihood. "He

“ who gave a false account in such a case, or
“ if it appeared he lived by robbery, or any
“ other unjust means, was to die.” This certainly was well calculated to promote honest industry, and prevent public mischiefs and disorders in the state. But there is one concerning theft, of a most extraordinary sort, which I will mention under this head. It may seem indeed to countenance iniquity, but was intended for the benefit and redress of the plundered, when the other laws were found ineffectual to put a stop absolutely to that evil, which Ægypt, from the nature of the country, hath always been exposed to: for the slime and mud, which are brought by the waters in the annual inundation, settling in different parts of the Nile, and the lakes which are caused from time to time by its overflowing the country, make those little islands of rushes, which have always given concealment to these bands of robbers that infest the country. As it was thought impossible therefore to put a stop to this evil entirely, a law appoints, “ That
“ those who enter into these infamous companies shall give in their names to one who
“ is their chief, and whatever they steal shall
“ engage to bring to him. They who have
“ been robbed, are to set down in writing
“ every particular, expressing the day, and
“ hour, and place, when and where they
“ lost their goods, and apply to this receiver,
“ who, though well known, is connived at
“ by the state; and after a valuation made of
“ the stolen goods, the true owner is to pay

“ a fourth part of the value , and to receive them again.”

But for fear of being tedious , I will enlarge no farther on this subject ; nor shall I take upon me to defend the last institution , as I can never think it prudent or advisable to give a licence to evils , in order to restrain them. But the *Ægyptian* laws must be allowed upon the whole to be wise and equitable , and worthy of commendation. And that these laws may upon no occasion be evaded by the collusion of the parties charged with the execution of them ⁴⁵ , extraordinary care is taken to fill the courts of justice with persons of the most approved integrity and unblemished character. The prophet , or high priest of *Ægypt* , is always president in the tribunal of justice , or over the thirty who are appointed for the hearing of all causes. In judiciary proceedings , the plaintiff exhibits his complaint in writing , distinctly and particularly setting forth wherein he was injured , and after what manner , and the value of the damage sustained. The defendant on the other side , having had a copy of his adversary's libel , answers in writing to every particular , either by denying , or justifying , or pleading something in mitigation of damages. The plaintiff replies in writing , and the defendant rejoins. After the litigants have thus exhibited their libels twice , it belongs to the thirty judges to consider among themselves what sentence they shall pronounce. Then

⁴⁵ *Diod. lib. i. c. 6.*

the prophet turns the effigies of truth towards the party who carries his cause. The judges used to receive a certain salary from the king, which is still continued to them by the favor of our mighty monarch, out of the revenues of Ægypt: and he may justly be regarded as the guardian of their laws, who suffers them to enjoy their own judicatures in all causes, except where the rights of his natural subjects are concerned. The priests say ⁴⁶, that their ancient MNEVIS or MENES was the first who instituted written laws; and that his laws are preserved among the other sacred treasures of wisdom that have been delivered down to them from the great MERCURY, his associate and counsellor. The rest have at different times been received into the *Hermaic* books, and the highest honor thereby paid to the authors of them. SESOSTRIS is generally reputed the founder of all those that relate to military discipline. The Theban BOCCHORIS is justly famed for his wise and excellent laws concerning contracts and debts, and for the preventing of excessive usury. He forbids imprisonment for debt, judging it unreasonable that the persons of men should lie at the mercy of inexorable creditors, or be confined to gratify the covetousness or resentment of private people, when they might be of use to the public service. Many of the Ægyptian laws have been copied by the sages of Greece, who all resorted hither as to the fountain-head of knowledge

⁴⁶ DIOD. lib. i. c. 7.

and wisdom; and this rule in particular, I am informed, is followed in the Athenian laws of SOLON. The kings of Ægypt from the times of SESOSTRIS, after the prodigious increase of their power and greatness, became impatient of control; and the strict laws, which the wise founders of the Ægyptian polity ⁴⁷ had appointed for the regulation of their conduct in every instance both of public and private life, were now grown obsolete and forgotten, till BOCCHORIS ⁴⁸ endeavoured to revive the ancient discipline, and enforce, by his own example, those excellent rules which were calculated for the mutual happiness both of the prince and people. But the invasion that happened in his reign, too soon overturned his laudable designs. The law which enjoins, that the Ægyptians shall give in their names to the governors of the provinces, showing by what means they got their livelihood, and that yearly, was enacted by AMASIS ⁴⁹. DARIUS, the father of XERXES, is held in much veneration here, and his name is enrolled among those of their best princes and greatest benefactors. He confirmed the body of their old laws, and added new ones to it. He showed great indulgence to the Ægyptian priests, to make them amends for the impiety of his predecessor CAMBYSES, in the profanation of

⁴⁷ DIOD. lib. i. c. 6. initio.

⁴⁸ ——— τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλεῖς πάντα ———
ἐξακριβῶσαι. Ibid.

⁴⁹ HEROD. lib. ii. 177.

their religious rites. He was initiated into their mysteries, and resided for some time in the colleges of Heliopolis and Memphis. Whilst living, they esteemed him as a god; and when dead, the people allowed him all those ancient honors, which were customary to be performed to the former kings of Ægypt after their deaths.

I have resided in this country much longer than I intended at my first setting out from Persia; but after I had taken some pains to survey the famous monuments of the Upper Ægypt, and the lasting remains of these once powerful kingdoms, I was willing to make some inquiry into their history, their laws, and their ancient learning. And when I found my curiosity would detain me in these parts, I took the opportunity of being instructed in those liberal sciences, which are the boasted inventions of Ægypt, and are no where taught to greater advantage. But now having thrice seen the inundation of the Nile, I begin to think, though with reluctance, of leaving the country. But before I set forward for Pelusium, I intend a short excursion to the Pyramids, with the famous HERODOTUS, and some other Grecian strangers, who are lately arrived at Memphis. Adieu.

L.

LETTER XCIII.

HIPPIAS to CLEANDER.

I FIND myself in such a debating humor, that you must indulge me, brother, in arguing upon some other particulars of your conversation with the Athenian, than those to which I have already spoken. The two advantages of monarchy, which you mentioned, deserve to be insisted on more copiously, viz. The opportunities of munificence, which are lodged in the hands of a great king, and the awe of his absolute power. Nor had your friend so much cause to triumph in the force and clearness of his reasoning.

The wisest legislators in all republics have established their laws by the sanction of rewards and punishments; because the expectation of the one, or apprehension of the other, is apt to operate most strongly on the human mind. But it often happens in governments of the popular form, that these sanctions are weakened. Envy occasions a neglect of merit, and defeats it of those honors to which it has an equitable claim, while many restraints on the iniquity of the powerful are taken off by their influence on the body of the people. And thus the intention of the legislator, who first formed the commonwealth, is gradually forgot after his death, or openly perverted by his successors. On the contrary, in monarchical states

there is the same perpetual legislator, because a king (unlike the temporary legislators who preside in democracies, whose interests must vary according to the different circumstances of the times) will always find himself in the same situation and interests with those who have gone before him. He may be a faithful guardian of the laws and these sanctions; and a prudent prince will maintain them in their full vigor; he will not suffer them to be wrested to the low purposes of jealousy and malice, or to strengthen the hands of a faction. Disdaining to act like the inconsistent multitude in the democracy of Athens, he will countenance the deserving with his power, and encourage them by his bounty, while the designing are unable to evade his penetration, or fly from the rigor of his justice. In commonwealths the recompence at any time bestowed on the good citizen is mean and inconsiderable, and rather gratifies the vanity, than advances the interest of the man. But in monarchies the rewards given to a faithful subject are such, as call for his attention and regard. The prospect of them will incite him to endure toil, and the possession of them will animate him to face danger and death in the service of his country. Is a crown of fading oak-leaves to be compared with the gift of an extended domain? Is the most elegant collation which the Prytaneum of Athens can afford, equal in value to the wealth, dignity, and titles, which the sovereign of Asia may heap on those whom he vouchsafes to favor? These rewards he may not only

impart to the man whose merit more immediately demanded them, but even suffer them to continue in his family, and be transmitted to his remotest posterity. This spirit of liberality hath prevailed very eminently in the kings of Persia. CYRUS, when he had subdued the world, and settled his empire in security, enriched and aggrandized the attendants on his fortune beyond their most sanguine expectations; and no one ever exceeded XERXES in the princely generosity of his temper. Do you think, when he seated himself on the top of the mountain *Ægaleos*, that he might survey the battle of Salamis? Do you think, I say, when he wrote down the name and country of every man who behaved well in the fleet, that he had not an intention to distinguish the valor of his officers, and the dexterity of his sailors, with some tokens of the royal esteem? He steadily preserved his intention. He recompensed the sincere, though unsuccessful endeavours of his servants; and many in Persia at this day enjoy the effects of his munificence.

But you will say, that I have hitherto, in the tenor of my argument, supposed a king perfect in the arts of policy, and in all the regal qualifications. Methinks I hear you telling me, that I have taken it for granted, that every prince is a philosopher; whereas nothing is more true than the reverse of it, because Providence has not made them superior to others in their natural endowments, and their acquired ones are seldom so good. Permit me, brother, to answer, that I mean chiefly

to confine my observations to Persia; and however this remark may be verified in many countries, I am free from all apprehensions, lest the throne of CYRUS should be filled with a CAMBYSES for the future, the wildest and most uncultivated mortal, who hath dared in any period of time to be ambitious. Thou knowest, that the excellent ARTAXERXES has established a noble method of education for those who are to succeed to the empire. The young heir is committed to the management of four persons, who are very remarkable in the kingdom on account of their wisdom and their virtue. The first is ordered to instruct him in the principles of Magianism and the Persian government; the second must inure him to a love of justice and truth; the third is to teach him the mastery over himself and his passions; and the last endeavours to fortify his breast with courage and resolution. Under an absolute prince thus instituted, what signifies the power of doing harm, when the will shall be wanting? What happiness may we not reasonably hope for and promise to ourselves, under a long race of wise and equitable kings? Such will be indeed the living images of the Deity, the faithful dispensers of his bounty. Reflect only, how much more consistent it is with the general welfare of society, that a prudent man should be placed at the head of it, than that a lawless and giddy multitude should be intrusted with the government. Is it not better they should enjoy freedom and security through the means of such monarchs, than that the reins of power

should be held by themselves, which will now be unseasonably straitened, and now wantonly relaxed in their hands? Do you not find this peculiarly the case in Athens? Is not their punishment of the best in the city, on observing the least error in a course of the wisest conduct, a flagrant instance of the one; and is not their giving into the foolish politics and absurd propositions of the worst, a ridiculous instance of the other?

Let us, I beseech you, bring the comparison between monarchies and democracies still nearer. The former is allowed on all hands to possess the greatest advantages, when it is necessary to make a vigorous and sudden effort of power. A monarch may conceal the secret of his designs from the knowledge of his enemies; he may deliberate with coolness, and act with spirit; he may attend solely to the reason and policy of his measures, without being misled by the false glosses of his counsellors, without being heated by an orator's address to his passions. In republics the case is far different; they are slow in resolving, much slower in performing; the same secrecy cannot be preserved, nor the same uniform measures pursued; the voice of reason is lost in the noise of eloquence, and reality is basely disguised by plausibility. A good monarch is sensible, that his own welfare is united with the welfare of his people; he knows, the security of his crown depends on their affection; he will not therefore indulge his ministers in any selfish views and inclinations, which may
injure

injure the prosperity of himself and his kingdom. In popular states, little interests and private competitions too frequently enter into the public councils: each man aims at power, riches, and the ruin of his enemies, under the mask of zeal for his country; and the true interest of the many is sacrificed through their own blindness to that of the few. What various opportunities of encouraging the liberal arts, of improving the finances, and of extending the commerce of his empire, are in the disposal of a monarch? But the ministers who preside in democracies, have no leisure to regard these important particulars; they are obliged to neglect no expedient, however wretched or detestable, in order to maintain themselves in authority. This is their chief business, and the worthy employment of their administration. How little then ought we to admire those governments, where the spirit of *faction* is mistaken for the spirit of *freedom*; and that which constitutes the real happiness and grandeur of a nation, is surrendered, not for the sake of liberty, but licentiousness, which is always accompanied with sedition, and must naturally end in destruction? A wise king will respect the advice of a wise council; at the same time he will be a check over their conduct, and prevent them from caballing together to the oppression of their inferiors, or quarrelling with one another to the disorder and confusion of the state. To speak plainly, he will convey to his people the advantages of

aristocracy, without the inconveniencies which may sometimes attend it.

Let it be granted there is one dangerous circumstance in monarchy, I mean, that its corruption is *tyranny*; but let it be remembered, there is one much more dangerous in a republic, I mean, that not only its corruption is *anarchy*, (which every one must allow,) but that it is equally exposed to tyranny. For if tyranny consists in the power and the will to inflict stripes; and slavery is the necessity to receive them when inflicted; then the many may tyrannize over the few, the stronger may crush the weaker, in democracies. In this last case the tyranny will be much more open and effectual than in the first, because a single tyrant will be afraid lest he should inflame the resentment of his people, but a majority of tyrants will be restrained by no such prudential consideration. Under monarchical governments, if the subjects find themselves oppressed by their king, despair will furnish them with arms; they will join in the common cause, and dethrone him, who has prostituted the dignity of his office, and forfeited the allegiance of his people. They will then place a worthier in his stead; nor need they in the mean time be afraid of invasions from without, since no one would dare to attack a nation united within. But in popular states the few, and consequently the weaker, after several unsuccessful struggles, will perceive they are unable to redress their grievances: they will therefore ask the assistance of foreigners; sooner than be in bondage to

their fellow-citizens, they will court the yoke of a stranger, and submit their country and themselves to the mercy of a conqueror.

In an evening conference at Olympia on this subject you declared, "no simple form of government could be free from inconveniences: that one mixed out of the three species would secure to mankind the benefits, and correct the disadvantages arising from each of them." And you told me, "that you had once intimated these sentiments in a letter to GOBRYAS." What that great statesman might think upon the scheme, you could not inform me; for he wisely and like a statesman concealed it. But art thou not of opinion, my CLEANDER, that a frame of government so excellently contrived is rather to be commended in theory, than established in practice, and may take place in the heads of philosophers, but not in societies of men: It would be as difficult to settle the nice boundaries between liberty and prerogative, as to adjust the exact limits between vice and virtue. The preservation of such a tender and delicate constitution must depend on that, which would at certain times be unsteady and unequal; namely, the wisdom of the governors in not extending the powers of either too far. The situation of these with respect to each other, would resemble that of two princes whose territories are contiguous. If the one advances his forces to the frontiers of the other, he gives a just and well-grounded alarm to his neighbour. In short, to suppose such a mixture

either probable or possible, and that it will ever be admitted and maintained in a nation, is to suppose mankind a different order of beings from what they are; or that the gracious OROMASDES will one day or other throw a much larger share of reason into the scale of human nature, than is now laid in the balance, and suffer it to weigh down the passions.

C.

LETTER XCIV.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

ÆSCHYLUS (of whom I spoke so much to thee in my last ⁹⁰) is said to have distinguished himself in the three battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea. In the second of these engagements his younger brother **AMYNIAS** commanded a squadron of ships, and had the first prize decreed him after the victory. It was to the reputation of this man that **ÆSCHYLUS** owed his life. Having been accused for some bold strokes of impiety in one of his tragedies, the Areopagites were just ready to pronounce sentence. **AMYNIAS** stepped up to the judges in that instant, pulled his arm from under his garment, and showed it in the face of the court without a hand; that having been lost, as he declared, in the service of his country.

⁹⁰ Letter lxxxvii.

The merit of the soldier gained the immediate acquittal of the poet; and *ÆSCHYLUS* was ashamed of being pardoned, not for his own virtue, but the valor of his brother. A few years after he resented highly the affront which had been put on him by the judges of the theatre, in permitting *SOPHOCLES*, who had been formerly his scholar, to carry away the palm in tragedy at the festival which celebrated the recovery of *THESEUS*'s bones. *CIMON* gave his sanction to this determination; and *ÆSCHYLUS* retired from Athens, after his defeat, to Gela in Sicily; where he arrived while king *HIERO* was building the city *Ætna*. He addressed himself to his new patrons in a play, which bore the name of that town, and was employed in prophetically describing the future commerce, wealth, and grandeur of the place. As he was walking one day in the fields to refresh himself in the air after the fatigue of a rehearsal, an eagle with a tortoise in its claws accidentally flew over his head, and (as the Sicilians relate it) soaring high with her prey, and wanting some stone whereon to break it, mistook *ÆSCHYLUS*'s bald crown for a flint, and threw it down upon him in such a manner as dashed out his brains. *THEMISTOCLES* had such a regard to his performances, that after the death of *ÆSCHYLUS*, he contracted with *PHRYNICHUS* for the representation of several of them.

In the mean time *SOPHOCLES* improved his credit over all Greece. He was held in esteem, not only as a tragic writer, but as a counsellor;

and the highest offices in the state were sometimes conferred upon him. I have heard him speak of his expedition to Samos in joint commission with PERICLES; but that great general said of him, that in his military capacity (whatever he might be in his poetical) he had more personal bravery than conduct. PHILEMON has a good story of his being one day in company with them in the forum, while they continued together in office, and were, talking carelessly on matters of indifference, an handsome virgin passed by them in the middle of the conference. SOPHOCLES took notice of her beauty, and PERICLES reproved him, saying, "a magistrate should observe continence with his eyes as well as his hands." Though he is far advanced in years, he continues to apply himself to his profession with an unwearied application. I was myself present at a very extraordinary trial, not many months ago, in which he was concerned, before the court of Areopagus. The sons of SOPHOCLES desired the guardianship of their father's estate, as of one who was grown delirious, and consequently no longer able to manage his affairs. The old gentleman spoke in his own defence with a peculiar vivacity and strength of understanding. As soon as he had closed his oration, which fell from him with an uncommon flow of natural eloquence, and grace of pronunciation, he begged leave to read a tragedy which he had just finished, and would speedily offer to the public. It was entitled OEDIPUS at Colonus, and was designed to do honor to his native

town. He recited it, and then desired to know, with some warmth of temper and quickness of expression, whether that piece was the work of a madman or a fool. The judges applauded his wit, dismissed him with the highest marks of honor, and actually declared his sons madmen for accusing him.

EURIPIDES, another great master in the dramatic art, and the rival of *ÆSCHYLUS* and *SOPHOCLES*, was brought up by his father to exercises of strength and activity, and designed for nothing more than a wrestler in the Olympic games. His inclinations lay another way, and he proved a constant disciple of *ANAXAGORAS* in philosophy, and of *PRODICUS* in rhetoric. Since that he has turned his thoughts to the writing of tragedies, and has one happiness, to which men of parts are generally strangers, that of being as remarkable for his industry as his genius. During the last Athenian I was present at his *Bellerophon*, wherein he hath introduced a wicked man seriously preferring lucre to honesty, in a train of studied arguments. Though, for my own part, I was struck with an aversion to the character and the sentiments, yet I could not think it right to pass sentence on the poet, till the catastrophe of the piece. The impatient audience, however, were rising up with a kind of Bacchanalian fury, to demolish both the play and the actor. EURIPIDES came on, and bowed, as if desirous to speak. His request was granted, and he told us, "he could not help observing, with a secret transport, the virtue

“and integrity of that great assembly; and
 “should always endeavour to follow, in his
 “particular capacity, the national example.”
 He added, “that if they would wait quietly
 “to the end of the tragedy, they would find
 “he had not failed in expressing his abhor-
 “rence for iniquity, since the patron of co-
 “vetousness would there meet with the pu-
 “nishment he deserved.” SOCRATES frequents
 no plays but those of EURIPIDES. I saw him
 in a corner of the theatre on this occasion;
 and while the soliloquy was reciting, his face
 seemed composed into a settled detestation of
 the odious panegyric; but his features af-
 terwards lighted up again, and he was greatly
 satisfied with the spirit and behaviour of his
 friend EURIPIDES. ARCHELAUS, king of Ma-
 cedon, had heard so much of this great poet,
 that he sent him an invitation to his kingdom.
 In conversation he told EURIPIDES, “he should
 “be very proud if he would compose a tra-
 “gedy in honor of his character.” To which
 the other replied with great politeness, “Pray
 “Heaven, your majesty may never be the
 “subject of a tragedy!” A courtier laughed
 at him one day for the stinking of his breath;
 “If my breath stinks, (replied he,) it is be-
 “cause so many honest secrets have rotted
 “within me.”

The general opinion of the Athenians, on
 the excellencies of these three competitors,
 seems founded in an exact and impartial review
 of them. ÆSCHYLUS is thought to want neither
 spirit nor sublimity, but is censured as bombast

and inflated. SOPHOCLES has united the perfections of art to the graces of nature, and has a juster degree of elevation than his master, with more delicacy and sweetness. EURIPIDES is rather fond of elegance and tenderness, than strength and grandeur; and has a fine way of interspersing the reflections of morality, without flattening the dialogue, or relaxing the attention of his audience from the main action.

Comedy had the same rise with tragedy; and though SUSARION and EPICARMUS are said to have been the first inventors of it, yet EUPOLIS and CRATINUS pretend to a share in the merit. The former was seventeen years of age when he entered on the theatre, and raised his credit by abusing both CIMON and PERICLES; but the latter honored CIMON, who was at that time the head of the nobility. The libertinism of comedy is very freely indulged by the impudent poet ARISTOPHANES; and I dare say his scandalous licentiousness will at last convince the Athenians of the necessity of some law to restrain it. It may be said, however, in favor of tragedy and comedy, that each of these writings have their respective use. The state of tyranny and anarchy are laid open in the one, and the absurdities and follies of private life are ridiculed in the other.

I find it a question, HYDASPES, disputed among the critics of Greece, in which of these it is hardest to excel; at the same time it is universally acknowledged, that the tragic and comic excellencies are so different, that no man can ever be superior in both. Wilt thou

indulge me, while I give thee a reason or two on the side of comedy? The first and most natural which occurs is, that it is easier to raise our attention by good sense, than to excite our laughter by wit. The plot of tragedy is already wrought to our hands by the historian; the plot of comedy is derived from the fancy of the poet. The former is conversant in the grave passions of public life, such as avarice, ambition, and sometimes an heroic love. These are easily painted, because great characters are exposed to the observation of all men. The latter chiefly interferes with the workings of the mind in private life, and the little family-intrigues and inconsistencies which occupy so considerable a share of mankind. These are painted with difficulty, because to gain a thorough knowledge of them requires a very intimate and extensive acquaintance with the world. Our behaviour in public must depend on some virtues and vices, which, though differently blended in different constitutions, are always the same, and have determined ideas annexed to them. Our behaviour in private will depend on the fickleness of our temper, our levities and humors, which can never be defined, and are not only various in various persons, but are hourly jarring and unsettled in the same person. These levities are the chief ingredients in the composition of comedy, as well as they are in that of mankind; and so flutter between vice and virtue, that they are hard to be caught and described. Tragedy is now carried to a degree

of perfection which leaves me no expectation from posterity: but comedy, as by far the most difficult, will admit of much alteration and improvement. In short then, to hit off the passions of comedy with nature and propriety, to bring them home to every man's own business and bosom, is a task reserved for some genius in a future age; since, I assure thee, no one of the present is equal to it.

From Athens.

C.

LETTER XCV.

GORRYAS to CLEANDER. *From Ecbatana.*

THE account which thy last letters brought of the surrender of Mitylene, and the punishment inflicted on its inhabitants, afforded us a strong picture of the temper and politics of the Athenians. And by enlivening thy narrative of facts with reflections on the motives of their conduct, and intermixing particulars of their debates and forms of proceeding, thou continuest to recommend thy diligence and address to the supreme council. I believe I have already informed thee, that thy dispatches are constantly registered in the archives of the empire; and if they are preserved with that care, of which the regular series of our records from the reign of CYRUS is a proof, they will transmit to latest ages the memory of a very able and faithful minister. The king, during

the course of his glorious reign, has shown his grateful sense of his servants merits, by rewarding them with those treasures, which under former ones have been lavished away on the flattering, the servile, and the corrupted dependants on courts; and thy next remittances from TERIBAZUS will show thee, that thy allowance is considerably augmented. The courier whom NICANDER sent to Sparta for further instructions, is at last returned; the answer he has brought to our proposals, is drawn up with the true Laconic stateliness and brevity.

The King, Senate, and Ephori of Sparta to
ARTAXERXES, King of Persia, health.

WE seek thy alliance not unwillingly; but can do nothing to obtain it, which will dishonour our country in the eyes of Greece. Farewell.

I treated the agent NICANDER with great reserve on this occasion, and only expressed my surprise, that his republic could think it equitable, that the whole hazard and expense of assisting them should lie on our side, whilst they were tied down to no particular stipulations in favor of Persia. In the course of the conference I found he endeavoured to discover, if we were inclined to assist his state with a sum of money, on condition it should be repaid with interest in four years. But I told him plainly, (as I was ordered,) that I looked

upon our negociation as entirely at an end; and that it was indifferent to the king, whether he continued here or departed. I have not seen NICANDER since this conversation, but I do not hear he designs yet to leave us. I agree entirely, CLEANDER, with thy opinion, that it is ill success alone which must lengthen the monosyllables of Lacedæmon. From the intelligence which thou sentest me concerning PYTHON, I took hold of an opportunity he gave me of entering into some discourse with him. He made an application to me in behalf of a correspondent of his, an Athenian merchant residing at Sidon, who had been imprisoned by the governor, for refusing to submit to an extraordinary tax, which had been laid on all foreign commodities. I assured him, it had been levied without the least authority from hence; and that the king would disclaim the proceeding of his governor, by sending him immediate orders, not only to release the merchant, and repair the damages he had sustained, but to repeal the imposition. I hinted, however, to PYTHON, that it was inconvenient for the Athenians not to have an ambassador here to complain of such violences, whenever they happened, and to take care of the interests of the republic at this critical juncture, when they could not be ignorant, that the Lacedæmonians showed a disposition to cultivate an alliance with us to their prejudice. PYTHON appeared very attentive to my discourse, and told me, that he would not fail to inform his correspondent of the relief he had obtained

from the king's justice; and that he did not doubt it would give great satisfaction at Athens.

When thy last letters were read before the council of Seven, they renewed a division, which has for some time prevailed amongst them, and spread generally through the empire, viz. whether Persia should immediately take part in the Peloponnesian war. Some are eager to revenge on one part of the Greeks that disgrace which they suffered from the whole body of them at Salamis and Plataea. Others think the empire not sufficiently recovered from those deep wounds, and are willing to take time for considering which part of the Greeks it will be our interest to support. The younger counsellors and the military men declare for the first opinion; and as they have formed an high idea of the Spartan bravery, incline to their interest. The wisest and most experienced satraps, and even those among our officers who have grown old in the service, advise us to pursue the latter scheme. The worst is, that he, whom both his abilities and integrity render the fittest to direct our councils, I mean MEGABYZUS, declines more and more in his health; the consumptive state of body, under which he has labored for two years, grows daily upon him. No air suits him but that of the forest of Nisa; and I believe he will be unable to attend the court in their removal to Susa.

I know not if thou hast yet been acquainted with the remarkable events which have fallen out within the compass of a few months in the

northern provinces. Several complaints having been sent up against **ARIAZUS**, the governor of Sogdiana, he was ordered to repair to court forthwith to justify his conduct. Instead of complying, he pretended at first, that sickness prevented his taking so long a journey; but that he hoped the reply he made in writing to the accusations of his enemies, would be a sufficient apology for his behaviour. His defence was found to be so evasive and trifling, that a second order was sent him by an **Astanda**, to set out within a day after the receipt of it, if he would not be reckoned a criminal; and at the same time **OCHUS**'s lieutenant in Bactria, **SPITAMENES**, was commanded to draw together a body of troops towards the frontiers of Sogdiana, **ARIAZUS** soon discovered his criminal intentions; he imprisoned the **Astanda**, seized the revenues of the province, entered into a correspondence with **OXYATHRES**, who had taken refuge at the Scythian court, and broke out into an open revolt. By the persuasions of the latter, **TAXILAS**, the Scythian king, was prevailed upon to send to the assistance of **ARIAZUS** a body of thirty thousand men, who crossed the Tanais, and joined him at Gaza. The laws of nations were violated, and our ambassador **ARSANES** put under arrest, for remonstrating strongly against this open infraction of treaties. **SPITAMENES**, without staying for the reinforcements, which the governors of Parthia and Hyrcania were preparing to send him, ventured a battle near Cyropolis. He put himself at the head of his troops, and pushed the van of the

rebels very vigorously; but receiving a mortal wound from a Scythian bow in the beginning of the engagement, his troops were defeated, and obliged to repass the Oxus. Affairs on this side put on for some time a bad aspect; but the over-ruling OROMASDES would not suffer the reign of our Great Monarch to be long fullied with the prosperity of a rebel. For the Scythian king being killed by a fall from his horse, as he was hunting, his son CLEOPHAS, who succeeded him, not only released our ambassador, and recalled his forces, but assured us, in the strongest terms, of his resolution to adhere strictly to his alliances with Persia, and that in pursuance of them he had ordered OXYATHRES to depart his country. To deal freely with thee, this sudden turn proceeds not so much from the natural disposition of the young prince, as the influence of his favorite AGASPES, who has felt the effect of our master's liberality. ARIAZUS's army, discouraged by the retreat of the Scythian forces, mutinied against him; and BESSUS, one of his officers, had the boldness to assassinate him, as he was sleeping in his tent, and sent up his head to court.

I have now performed the duty of a minister, in laying before thee the present state of our affairs; but I should ill discharge the offices of a friend, if I did not assure thee of the continuance of my regard for thee by a small present of oriental curiosities, which the next ship will bring thee from Ephesus.

Thou

Thou mayst likewise be satisfied, that whenever thou art tired of thy hazardous employment, I will exert my utmost endeavours to procure thee a secure and honorable establishment in Persia. Adieu.

P.

LETTER XCVI.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES. *From Athens.*

How agreeably do your letters, most noble ORSAMES, lead my imagination through all the mazes of Ægyptian learning! How is the form of science, concealed beneath the veil of sacred rites! But how rational is the delight she gives us, when divested of her hieroglyphic dress, and stripped of that disguise which gains her the veneration of the ignorant and admiring multitude! Upon this principle, the Eleusinian mysteries are calculated to inspire a reverential curiosity, which makes the mind more deeply attentive to those truths, the knowledge of which it has with much difficulty attained. But why do I talk of truths, when all I can tell you is of outward shows? For I have not been admitted myself to a participation of these ceremonies; and yet methinks, if I am not widely mistaken in my guess, whoever is an hearer of the divine SOCRATES, cannot be entirely ignorant of the doctrines taught in them, though he himself has hitherto refused

the initiation, even to his discredit; perhaps to avoid a more dangerous suspicion of discovering out of treachery what he has already learned by the inspiration of an excellent nature. but of this hereafter. I imagine you will not be displeased with a particular account of the external ceremonies, of which I have lately been a spectator. They begin on the fifteenth of the month *Βοηδρομιών*, by a general assembly of the candidates for initiation, who on the second purify themselves in the sea, and are employed on the third in offering sacrifices of little pomp, and therefore not worth describing. The fourth day is distinguished by a solemn procession, in which the holy basket of CERES is carried in a consecrated car, drawn by four milk-white oxen, whose necks and horns are wreathed with garlands of corn and poppies. They pass along amidst the acclamations of the multitude, who resound the praises of CERES; and are followed by a train of beautiful young women, representing the companions of PROSERPINE. Their garments are gaily embroidered with all sorts of wild flowers; and on their heads they bear the mystic baskets, which are concealed from every eye beneath long veils of purple. "Yet however your curiosity may be excited by this concealment, said the young ALCIBIADES to me, believe me, who am an initiate, the veils cover nothing half so much worth seeing, as those faces to which they give a becoming shade." On the fifth evening is commemorated the search of PROSERPINE, when CERES, snatching with

a torch the flames of *Ætna*, ran with uncertain steps to seek her daughter. The air is illuminated with the blaze of ten thousand torches, and great is the contest, who shall consecrate the largest to the service of the goddess. The most remarkable of all the ceremonies was that of the sixth day, when the statue of *IACCHUS*, the son of *JUPITER* and *CERES*, is carried in procession from Athens to Eleusis. It sets out from the Ceramicus, and is accompanied with music, songs, and symphonies of sounding brass, to which the dancers feet keep time, who, as well as the statue, are crowned with myrtle garlands. Thus they used to pass in festive pomp along the way from thence called sacred, and, after resting twice, enter Eleusis by the mystic gate; but ever since the beginning of the war they have been forced to conduct their procession by water. The sea is almost covered with the multitudes of shining vessels, which are ready to convey the joyful crowds, who are received at Eleusis in a magnificent temple, capable of containing, with ease, more than thirty thousand persons. The loud notes of the trumpets and clarions are reflected with a softer echo from the waves; and with these the sacred bards join hymns of praise to *CERES*, *PROSERPINE*, and *IACCHUS*. The dancers with a nimble bound skip from one bark to another, and with a thousand antic gestures express their mimic raptures. I followed in the crowd of boats with *SOCRATES* and *ALCIBIADES*. Of the three remaining days that precede the initiation, the first is passed in games,

wherein the victors are rewarded with a measure of barley, that grain being first sown in Eleusis; the next, in admitting persons to the initiation of the lesser mysteries; and the last is called Plemochoai, from a libation made out of two earthen vessels placed towards the east and west, which, after the repetition of certain words, are thrown down, and their wine spilt upon the earth. And here what are properly called the mysteries begin: the happy initiates are conducted by the hierophant, who has attended them through all the ceremonies from the very first day, into the temple of CERES, and the impenetrable gates of secrecy are shut against the profane. For a stranger, though but by accident, to be present at these secret rites is inevitable death; for an initiate to reveal them, death with infamy. Thus far, however, may be innocently known of them, that besides the hierophant, whose business through life it is to preside at them, they are attended by five public officers, the chief of whom is one of the archons, bears the title of king, and the day following the mysteries, has the care of assembling the senate, to take notice of any irregularities that have been committed there. The other four are chosen by the people, and called curators. The hierophant, or mysiagogue, has also three assistants of an higher, and ten of a lower rank, who are chiefly employed about the sacrifices. Beyond this we know little but from conjecture; but thus much all the conjectures that I have ever heard, agree in, that the secret of these mysteries cannot

consist in shows alone, in visions, in frightful noises, and appearances, calculated to astonish women and children indeed, but little capable of answering the raised expectations of the brave and wise, who all are ambitious of being admitted to them. Even in the lesser mysteries many doctrines are inculcated of the highest importance, and conducive to virtue; yet these are but a preparation for the greater, and to them no one is admitted, whose character is blemished with any crime. On this initiation are supposed to depend the favor of the gods and the happiness of a future state. Shall we suppose then, that this degree of happiness and merit is attained by merely beholding a number of strange ceremonies, by attending to the sounds of solemn music, by being in a blaze of light, and on a sudden in total darkness, by answering a few questions of course, asked by the hierophant, about their previous preparations? Or is it by listening to a sacred doctrine, that shall unfold the sublimest truths of religion, by clearing from their minds the mists of vulgar prejudice, and forming in them just notions of the Deity, the one supreme director of the world, such as he is adored in Persia, such as he is taught in the more public Cretan mysteries, whence that people pretend these and all others to be derived. Such doctrines as these are thought to require the closest secrecy, as being too opposite to a useful popular belief. Such doctrines as these deserve indeed the pomp with which these mysteries are introduced, as those of all others the most

venerable, as those of all others the most important, as those which alone can open the mind to true knowledge, and give a just and constant principle of action. Whether this be the mystery revealed to the initiates or not, let us rejoice, who are in possession of such valuable knowledge; and if we conduct our lives in a manner suitable to it, we need not be perplexed by those fears, with which many are terrified into the initiation, that merely wanting the name of initiates will condemn us to eternal wretchedness; or indeed that those who have only the name of it shall claim any superiority over us in the just determinations of a future state. Farewel.

T.

LETTER XCVII.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

OROMASDES has established the throne of Persia to maintain our religion above the contempt and insolence of idolaters, who do not like the complexion of our barbarous and inhospitable faith, which, say they, excludes the gods themselves from our cities, and denies them an habitation amongst us.

Should Persia yield to a foreign master, the peculiarity of our religion would add weight to our chains; as the wretched Jews meet with little compassion, and are thought not

sufficiently humbled, while they refuse to comply with the worship of their conquerors. This people are well known in the East, for their sufferings and inflexible adherence to their religion; for what kingdom has not numerous families of them, the marks of their ancient bondage? Though they are so industrious to reinstate their nation, like a trunk torn up by the violence of a hurricane, in its parent soil, it thrives but a while, and extends its branches only to be lopped and scattered by the sword of a new master. The holiest of the Magi does not more reverently admit the divine presence amongst them, than this people, which they do not presume to circumscribe by the works of their own hands, nor venture to represent any otherwise than by a dazzling glory, an inaccessible brightness, which they assert some time to have been given as a sensible mark of the Deity's presence; but that the most intimate knowledge of God is the divine irradiation upon the minds of prophets and holy men. They are persuaded of the existence of some evil genii, which are at least coëval with the world, and the dangerous enemies of mankind. They think it no stain to marry amongst their own kindred; and they honor a prophet as the messenger of Heaven. The similitude which all this bears to the wisdom of the Magi, is the reason the Jews find their condition very tolerable under a Persian yoke. CYRUS himself, when he reduced the pride of Babylon, treated them favorably, because he found them retaining such venerable doctrines. XERXES

burnt the temples of Greece, but permitted them to rebuild their places of worship. Certainly, CLEANDER, pure religion was once universal; and mankind received truth from the same source whence they derived their being. For this ancient people maintain many uncorrupted traditions, which no change of fortune has ever been able to extort from them. ZADOC is one of these, a person of no mean credit at the court. Upon asking him, on what grounds his countrymen justified their tenacious regard for their religious rites; because, said he, they were divinely communicated; and (what is much more difficult to support without evidence) Heaven has not altogether broke off the intercourse with us, but at certain periods honors some holy man with the knowledge of its will, who first gains our credit by some notable instance of power, and then confirms us in our religion. Our princes hear his rebukes with decency, and submit to his commands with meekness. They do not profess to make war nor conclude peace by their own strength or counsel, nor dare they assume the honors of success; they are but second in the state, for God is the sovereign. So long as we acknowledge this, we have a constant and happy testimony of the truth of it; our seasons are ever temperate, our flocks multiply, our vintage never fails, success attends our arms, and our princes rule with wisdom. — ZADOC, said I, you forget yourself, and your fancy carries you back to those early times, when man's innocence fitted him for the converse

of heavenly genii, who were the vicegerents of God, and openly interposed in the administration of human affairs. But there are now no footsteps in the world of that happy state, and the miserable vicissitudes of our nation leave the least room for expecting to find any there. — I do not, replied he, pretend to exempt our nation from the ills of life; no, we are liable to the greatest; for observe the equality of Providence, which proportions our duty to our advantages. We are enjoined an hard task for our high privileges, no less than humility in the enjoyment of them; a constant acknowledgment of a precarious dependance, when we seem to be above the stroke of adversity. As God is the disposer of our affairs, he will not permit the aid and devices of men to share in the honor. We are forbid therefore to think ourselves at all accessory to our happiness, either by industry in peace, or conduct and prowess in the field. To reckon up the national forces, and keep exact lists of the soldiery, is laudable œconomy in other states: in us it were a criminal ostentation, and reliance on human aid, (which we profess not to confide in,) and has sometimes been followed by a national calamity. Much less should we be tolerated in a defection from the divine worship, or the vile indignity of setting up an idol in our hearts, as his competitor, who has no equal, and will bear no comparison; who calls himself jealous of a rival, a term not more affectionate than terrible to his worshippers.

Now, continued he, you see the tenure of our happiness, and will cease to wonder at our frequent fall from it, since it depends on the steadiness of the human mind, and our perseverance in a national fidelity. Alas! peace and affluence easily corrupt the heart, and introduce an insensibility of dependance. We, like other nations, soon boast of our achievements, strengthen ourselves with allies, court foreign marriages, (which are forbidden by the law,) and in complacency to our new alliances, agree with those nations in their forms of worship. These are the gates that let in plague, famine, and slavery upon us, and render us the scorn of nations, who upbraid us with not having a knowledge of the true God, or (what is indeed the case) not having virtue enough to deserve his protection. ZADOC, said I, you surprise me much, in accusing your nation of levity in religious duties, since you are known to offend in the other extreme; and will not, even in captivity, be prevailed upon to neglect those ceremonies which render you obnoxious. — You say true, replied he, for captivity renders the mind sober and considerate, and the most cruel tyrant is often unable to extort an unworthy confession from us. But surely you are not at a loss to find the difficulty there is in making so nice a duty as is required of us, compatible with the wantonness of prosperity. — The ways of Providence, said I, are not to be pronounced upon with peremptoriness. I will not pretend to say, that its dealings are the same with all

nations; but is it possible, that truths of importance should be confined in the custody of an obscure people within the bounds of Palestine? — We are not, returned he, an obscure people; our very misfortunes have prevented that; or if we were, perhaps obscurity and privacy may be less corrupt guardians to treasures of this kind, than the refined politics of large empires. Despise not our weakness, SMERDIS; like private men, states have their vicissitudes; we are still a distinct people, and are continued (so we presume) for greater ends than the present meanness of our condition promises. Great princes have sat on the throne of Palestine, and a greater still may arise, who, like your CYRUS, shall vanquish the nations of the earth with irresistible control, and retrieve the honors of an ancient people, who can not only fairly trace their ancestry up to those holy patriarchs whom Heaven deigned to spare at the general flood, but pass that common boundary to the annals of other nations, and deduce our origin from the common father of the human race.

Our discourse was much longer; and ZANOC's honest zeal for his religion and nation accompanied him through the whole, concluded, not without some appearance of reason, but not so much, but that I said to myself at parting, Good Heaven! what a blessing is hope, which is so hard to be extinguished in the human breast! It is a spark that lives where there appears no fuel for its support.

This people in slavery keep prosperity in view, and (by what I can discern) indulge their imagination with victories to come, and an extended empire in distant ages.

From Balch.

H.

LETTER XCVIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. *From Athens.*

THE superiority of the Athenian naval force, if rightly managed, must turn the balance of war in their favor, as (not to put thee in mind of other instances) sufficiently appears from the issue of the Corcyrean troubles. The contests between the Aristocratical and Democratical factions there rose to such a height, that much blood was spilt during the violence of the tumults, in which the people had, for the most part, the advantage. The party of Oligarchists, being apprehensive that their enemies would take possession of some posts very incommodious for them, in a fit of rage and despair set fire to the buildings round the forum and harbour. Great quantities of merchandize and other rich effects were consumed in the flames, which spread so wide, that if the wind had not been contrary, the whole city must have been burnt to the ground. The day after this disorder, NICOSTRATUS arrived with the Athenian Squadron from Naupactus, and soon composed matters to the

advantage of his party. The others were disarmed, obliged to deliver up hostages, and four hundred of the chief amongst them confined in the temple of JUNO. Within four or five days after, the Peloponnesian fleet, consisting of fifty sail, commanded by ALCIDAS and BRASIDAS, came in sight of the island. The united squadrons of the Corcyreans and Athenians went out to meet them, and began an engagement, which lasted till night. The former, who had a division amongst their seamen, and brought up but few gallies to fight at a time, were put in great disorder; but the latter behaved with such gallantry, that though they had only twelve ships, they sunk one of the enemy's, and secured the retreat of the Corcyreans. The confusion was so great within the city, that had the Peloponnesians followed the advice of BRASIDAS, and attacked it directly, they would, in all probability, have been masters of it before morning; but they contented themselves with landing troops, and ravaging the country. This gave the Corcyreans time to recover from their surprise, and take the proper precautions with regard to the Aristocratical party, who meditated a second rising. The arrival of an Athenian fleet of sixty sail obliged ALCIDAS to re-embark, and retire into port with no small precipitation, leaving the sea open to the enemy. The Corcyreans, elated with these powerful succours, were determined to take a complete revenge upon the adverse party, and proceeded against them with the most

bloody and merciless severities, insomuch that in the space of seven days they extirpated almost all the Aristocratical faction. Fifty of the richest citizens were put to death, according to the forms of law. The others were privately assassinated by their creditors, or murdered at the altars, whither they fled for refuge. A large number of these unfortunate men, it is said, were shut up and starved in the temple of BACCHUS. This is the conclusion, noble scribe, of the Corcyrean sedition, which, for the time it lasted, was as violent as any recorded in history. It is observed to have been the first, which has broken out in this war, founded on the different principles of the Athenian and Lacedæmonian governments; but from the animosities which the cruelty wherewith it has been carried on must occasion through all the Grecian states, it is conjectured that it will not be the last. The Athenians triumph greatly in their good fortune, and say, the Peloponnesians have behaved in this affair with that irresolution and inexperience which accompany all their naval operations. They imagine, that the success with which in the same year they have quelled the revolt of two considerable islands, secures to them the fidelity of their allies, whom such striking instances must convince, that the Lacedæmonian power cannot yet protect them from the weight of Athenian resentment. The grave and pious, with whom I converse, find their joy greatly abated on this occasion, by the fatal consequences which they apprehend from

these unhappy divisions, as a general disregard to public faith, and a total subversion of humanity and religion in the intercourse between the Grecian states.

The Athenians have this day decreed an assistance of twenty gallies to the Leontines, a people of Sicily, of Ionian extract, who are at war with the Syracusians. The chief of the Leontine embassy is GORGAS, a celebrated orator, whose eloquence has had great weight in the assemblies. It is of a new and peculiar kind, abounding in frequent flourishes of fancy, and metaphorical allusions. He has many admirers here. For my own part, I think the style of his orations is rather stiff and affected, than persuasive and elegant, and owes its chief graces to novelty. GORGAS, besides acquiring the reputation of an able negotiator, has considerably improved his fortunes by his Athenian embassy. The whole city resort to hear his rhetorical lectures, and he receives as a gratuity from every disciple who attends them, no less than an hundred minæ. Though the Athenians in the decree pretend, that their ancient alliance and relation to the Leontines are the reasons which induce them to send these succours, thou mayest easily imagine they are not the principal ones. The real intentions of this state are to prevent the supplies of corn, which their enemies receive from Sicily, and by degrees to get footing there. I know very well, that the fertility and riches of the island, its command of the seas, and the short passage from thence to Italy, have long rendered it the

object of ambition to the most enterprising politicians. During the administration of PERICLES, there were schemes formed to seize upon some part of Sicily; but that great minister always discouraged them, and told those who advised it, that the republic was not powerful enough to undertake an expedition, which besides its own difficulties, would infallibly draw upon them the arms of all Greece.

The present rulers, bolder but less prudent than PERICLES, have not (as far as I can learn) laid these views aside, and therefore gladly embrace the opportunity, with which the Leontines furnish them, to introduce Athenian forces into Sicily.

Thy conversation with PYTHON, noble scribe, was extremely well timed; and the relief, which the justice of our monarch afforded to the merchants at Sidon, has given very favorable impressions of the Persian court. They talk of sending thither an embassy of some of their principal citizens. In the mean time a commission has been dispatched to PYTHON, to manage their affairs with the Great King, as an agent from Athens. Adieu.

P.

LETTER

LETTER XCIX.

OTANES, *chief architect and superintendent of the royal palaces*, to CLEANDER.

I HAVE seen thy curiosities in the palace of MEGABYZUS, which he has so ranged in his splendid apartments, as to show at once his taste and value for them. I am persuaded, that an affectation of this sort of science, as it is so general in Athens, instead of adding ornaments to society, must fill it with ridiculous characters. For if I understand thy ingenious comment upon those pieces of art, to judge of sculpture and painting, and to be pleased with them on good grounds, a man should be acquainted with nature and the passions; should know how a base, an honest, or a great mind would aduate the body in different circumstances; in short, should be both an abstract moralist, and a practical observer of human life. I do not wonder that thou, CLEANDER, shouldst add this to the number of thy accomplishments; but I think few have the previous qualifications for it.

In return for my entertainment, I will acquaint thee with some natural curiosities, which have lately engaged the attention of the Magi. One of them, PATIZITHES by name, has been at great pains in the collection, and has formed an extraordinary hypothesis thereon. He thinks, he is hereby enabled to prove not only the

ancient deluge, but other revolutions in the earth of a more permanent effect. This collection is lodged in a neat room, at one end of the schools of justice, where the sons of the Magi hold their daily disputes. Upon my entrance, PATIZITHES opened the drawers of his cabinets, and exposed to view a great number of sea-shells of such variety, as are scarcely to be seen on the strand, when a furious tide has driven them from the bed of the ocean. My attention was raised by the sight, when PATIZITHES began, saying, All nations have some tradition of a terrible flood, which deformed the face of the earth, and brought such desolation upon our race, as to leave but a single family to re-people it. This was the great triumph of ARIMANIUS; he thought, when he was permitted to confound the elements, to mix air, earth, and water, and extinguish every spark of terrestrial fire; that he had renewed chaos and his ancient dominion over nature. But he soon saw order restored; and now no footsteps remain of that hideous devastation, but such as you see before you, a sufficient monument indeed of its truth to all future ages. These shells were gathered from different countries far from the sea; some of them formed parts of a rock; others were enclosed in a less dense coherent matter; some were near the summit of mountains; others many fathoms below the surface of the vales. The flat country of Babylonia and Ægypt, the rocks of Arabia and Persia, and that chain of hills which runs from the

Tanais toward the Caspian sea, contributed to enrich these cabinets. But, said I, there is room to doubt of their antiquity; for how could things of so perishable a nature be preserved through so many ages? Because, said PATIZITHES, they have been enclosed in the bowels of the earth, and were better guarded against the effects of time, than the bodies of the ancient Egyptians in a case of asphaltus. Here, says he, observe that shell, which so nearly resembles a cone; it was lately found on breaking a piece of marble, which made part of a great pyramid in the lake Mœris. Which therefore do you judge to be of greater antiquity, that ancient, pyramid, or the shell you have in your hands? Doubtless, said I, you'll say the shell, because the materials must be older than the building. But, continued I, do you then suppose this shell to be coeval with the rocks? Not only so, says he, but prior to them, as I will satisfy you immediately. Upon which he broke the shell, and continued his lecture in the following manner: The contents, said he, you see are a piece of Egyptian marble: now if you please to compare the marble with the shell, its case, you find they exactly tally. No sculptor on earth could so nicely have fitted the protuberances of one to the cavities of the other. There is an exact similitude in the lines of each, though almost numberless, and some of them scarcely discernible to the eye. This stone, therefore, which is now so firm and solid, was once not so, but in a fluid state, and received its

impression from the shell. I am satisfied, said I, this cannot be the effect of art: but the notion of fluidity and the parts of a rock seem to be at a great distance; and I would rather continue in suspense, than sit down with such an hypothesis. There is greater difficulty in supposing this than the thing you would prove by it. I can more easily believe there has been a deluge, than that it should be able to soften rocks, and bring them to a state of dissolution, which is what you seem to aim at. Have patience, says he, and I will be more explicit on the subject. You know, that some of the ancient pillars and obelisks at Thebes, Memphis, and Babylon, are thought by the judicious to be nothing more than a cement or composition, because no quarry can be found that bears any resemblance to them; and our modern builders have variety of such cements, as from a fluid state come to a firm consistency, when the superfluous moisture is carried off by the warm air and sun. Now why should we deny the same privilege to nature? When the mighty flood swept over the face of the earth, and ploughed up the loose soil, the mouldering clays, and chalks, and infinite variety of materials, the ancient rocks were washed at their very roots, their foundations were opened, and (as a rocky promontory undermined by the sea breaks off from the continent, and is sunk for ever in the abyss) having no steadfastness, they reeled from their places, and their weight bore them towards the centre, where they lie for ever beyond the reach of

adventurous mortals. The blended materials, thrown up in promiscuous heaps by the waves, covered them; and as the waters subsided, cemented together more closely; and as the parts were nearer akin, they cohered and formed bodies of different firmness and solidity. I do not therefore require of you to believe, that the ancient rocks and compact bodies were dissolved, but that many new ones were formed by the deluge, which had enclosed the spoils of the sea within them. If you can admit this account, you will easily find a solution for every thing that lies before you; if not, they are attended with insuperable difficulties. What other rational account will you give of that shell of a nautilus, which was found buried in a stratum of a piceous substance below the bed of the river Arbis, when ARTAXERXES commanded a bridge to be built over it? Or those teeth and part of the jaw-bone of a monstrous shark, which were dug from the same quarry that supplied the eunuch BAGO-RAZES in building his magnificent palace? This large drawer is filled with curiosities from a bed of chalk fifty cubits below the surface of the earth. These small chalky masses are full of the little bones and teeth of fishes, and many shells of the most delicate texture, and great variety of shape and color; for neither the form nor color is injured by the softness of the stratum they fortunately fell into. I was much pleased with the sight of these, and began to handle them too roughly, as I perceived by my friend's countenance, who turned

as pale as if I had defiled the elements. Upon which I restrained my curiosity within the bounds agreeable to him. He next bid me observe some stones which retained impressions from fishes, which, says he, have long since been wasted away, because of their tender substance; but the impressions remain not only of the head, fins, and tail, but the very scales; and in some you may perceive a glossy gold color received from the body of the fish. Here is one so entire, you may distinguish it to be a river perch.

Pray, said I, in this general confusion, which you suppose, might one not expect to find some products of the land as well as the sea preserved in the strata of the earth? Yes, replied he, there are some horns of deer that were found in a morass at a very considerable depth. Here is a beak of the Ægyptian Ibis, and some teeth of monkeys, now no where but in Æthiopia, which were found in the heart of a mountain near the Araxes; and all those nuts and almonds which you see, were dug from under the roots of ancient cedars in Mount Libanus, when the Tyrians expected to find rich mines in its bowels. Those shattered and decayed bones were gathered from different depths of the earth, where it had never before been opened. Here, says he, are some masses of a very compact marble, but only used in covering houses, because upon a stroke it is apt to shiver into thin plates; for many vegetables were buried in the stratum, and prevented its cementing so closely in those parts.

Upon which he split it very dexterously; and now, says he, you may see the broad leaves of the Ægyptian papyrus, lying flat and paralleled one to another, as you may have observed them after the Nile is abated, and has left those plants clogged with mud, and all inclining the same way with the direction of the stream. I could show you many masses that are filled with fern, the common produce of dry and barren grounds; some with myrtle, box, and many other vegetables. But pray take notice of two pieces of iron stone, each about a foot square and of a flat surface: a sort of net-work is deeply impressed on the whole surface of one, on the other the same work is in a sort of relief; they differ no otherwise than the seal and the wax, for they once adhered together in the same mass. I took up a stone, which seemed unworthy a place in his cabinets, and observed to him, that it was used in the most ordinary buildings. You are right, replied he, there is no commoner material; and the more I wonder it has not been taken notice of, for it is made up almost entirely of small shells. Place it in a convenient light, and you will see them of a thousand different shapes. The buildings of Susa, and, I doubt not, all the cities of the world, are full of the exuviae of fishes. This is no extravagant thing to say, if we consider the vast shoals that must have been poured out of the bosom of the deep, which not only contains the shells of the present race, but probably those of several

preceding ages, since they seem not to be of a very perishable nature. I will add a piece of advice to thee, OTANES, who art employed by ARTAXERXES in raising monuments to his honor, that, when thou buildest for posterity, thou chuse the most simple materials; for the veins and coloring of marbles are chiefly owing to vegetables and the exuviae of animals interspersed in the original strata, or some mixture of heterogeneous bodies, which seldom cement well together, and therefore yield sooner to the attacks of time. I thanked PATIZITHES for his advice, and the new scene he had opened to me. I told him, I was not one of those who doubted the reality of a deluge; but I did not imagine nature would have supplied any arguments for it: she exhibits every where beauty and order, but is cautious of showing her deformities. Thou, my friend, hast penetrated into her arcana, and bringest to light what she would have concealed. Thou discoverest how shamefully she was disturbed by the destroyer ARIMANIUS, who dissolved her laws, and set her at variance with herself.

H.

LETTER C.

CLEANDER to GORRYAS.

As I am sensible my public dispatches are always read before the council of seven, and afterwards registered in the archives; I would not in them mention an affair which gives me some uneasiness, and which I intend only for thy knowledge. My brother, HIPPIAS, enclosed in his last packet the following sentence out of a letter from HYDASPES the chamberlain, to him. "Tell CLEANDER, his merit has raised him many enemies, who endeavour to sup-
" plant him in the favor of the ministers. The
" practices of the great are busy against him.
" I have not at present time to write more."
My friends have sent me no advices of this nature; and yet the mysterious brevity of this paragraph strangely confounds me. I know not any of the courtiers to whom I ever gave the least ground of offence; at the same time I cannot understand the conduct of TERIBAZUS the treasurer. He has never once written to me since I resided at Athens, though he made me large promises of friendship before I left Ec-batana; and for this last year I have never received a single mina of my appointments. If the former liberalities of MEGABYZUS and thyself had not supported me, I should have been reduced to great distress.

Next to the protection of OROMASDES, generous GOBRYAS, I depend upon thine. Thou wert never yet known to disappoint the meanest of thy dependants. I will therefore rest assured, that thou wilt not suffer a friend to be run down by court-faction, who may venture to say, that he has not been useless to the country which employed him. Adieu.

From Athens.

P.

LETTER C I.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

I HAVE in a former letter observed to thee, CLEANDER, that the peculiar regard which the Ægyptians show to the remains of their deceased friends, proceeded upon a persuasion of the soul's subsisting after its separation from the body; an opinion which has so generally obtained in all nations of the world, that one may with better reason conclude it is inherent in the human soul from a consciousness of its own immortality, than that it was discovered first by the Ægyptians, and derived from them to the rest of mankind. But however that be, they doubtless were the first who accommodated this doctrine to the gross conceptions of the vulgar; and this gave rise to the superstitious representations in their funeral solemnities, which are performed near Memphis, in a large parcel of ground set apart for that

purpose, and called the territory of the dead. It consists of several large and pleasant meadows, encompassed with groves of lotus and sweet canes, and watered with many clear rivulets and fountains from the serpentine windings of the Nile ⁵¹. But the dead are not admitted, nor supposed to be admitted to this place, until they have passed the solemn tribunal, to which they are conveyed in a boat across a great lake called Acherusia. Before the coffin is put aboard, any person is at liberty by the law to accuse the dead; and if it can be proved that the deceased led a wicked life, then the judges appointed for that purpose give sentence, and the body is refused an honorable burial. If no informer appears, or the information is proved false, all the kindred of the deceased leave off mourning, and begin to set forth his praises, and recount the virtues wherein he excelled, invoking the infernal deities to receive him into the society of the just. On one side of the lake is the temple of the infernal HECATE, and the gates of COCYTUS and LETHE made fast with brazen bars; on the other, the pleasant islands and meadows before-mentioned, where those who are absolved at this tribunal have a right to be interred, if their friends desire it; but whether their bodies are deposited there or not, they represent the calm or happy state into which such persons are received in the Amenthes, or invisible region of departed souls. I have already hinted to

⁵¹ DIOD. SICUL. lib. i. c. 7.

you, that their doctrine of the soul's immortality is blended with that of its successive revolution through different bodies. The Amenthes⁵² therefore, or their name for the invisible region, signifies a place that receives the souls, and sends them back again. In that state, the good after their removal from the body, are supposed to be in a quiet and unruffled situation. But it is not till after they have passed through their several successive revolutions⁵³, and have returned again into the human body, and not till after a second separation from it, that they are supposed to pass into an happy state, if they have acted their part virtuously in this, the second time, as they did before. But the notion of the soul's transmigrating through various kinds of bodies, I have reason to think, was a later improvement of their philosophy; and I conceive the more ancient doctrine to have been rather this, viz. that they should return again to act their part in an human body at the great mundane revolution. When in our way to the Labyrinth, we stopped to survey the three great pyramids that stand between

⁵² Τὸν ὑποχθόνιον τόπον εἰς ὃν οἰοῦνται τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπέρχεσθαι μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν Ἀμένθην καλεῖσιν σημαίνοντες τῷ ὀνόματι τὸν λαμβάνοντα καὶ δίδοντα. Plut. de Isid. p. 362.

⁵³ Εἰς δὲ τῷτο Φαῦλος μὲν εὐδαίμων καὶ ἀκάθαρτος ἀνέεισιν· οἱ δὲ χορηγοὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν κομισθέντες, εὐλόβῃ ῥάσιν μὲν ἔστω βίον, καὶ μὴν μακάριον καὶ θεῖον ἔχοντες ἄχρι τῷ δευτέρῳ θανάτῳ διατελεῖσιν. Plut. de facie in lunā, p. 942.

Memphis and Arfinoe; it was impossible not to reflect upon what principle they could be erected. They might perhaps be contrived for other purposes of their religion besides the entombing of the dead; but however that be, it is certain the founders of them intended their remains should be deposited therein. A desire indeed of perpetuating their names by some lasting monuments, might be natural to the Ægyptian kings, as well as to those of other nations; yet it is peculiar to Ægypt to boast of a more expensive magnificence in these monuments than in the palaces of the living. And by designing to be buried within the pyramids, places of such impenetrable strength as were never erected for the defence of the living, one must suppose they intended to secure their remains against the injuries of time, or hostile fury, in those eternal habitations. And does not this peculiarity appear of a piece with that of their being more solicitous than any other people, to preserve their bodies from putrefaction, by salting and embalming them, which is an art original to Ægypt. Both the one and the other peculiarity may, I believe, be accounted for, upon the same principle which CHERES, an Ægyptian priest, suggested to us in some discourse we had upon this subject. It was the ancient opinion, that the souls delighted to hover about those places where the bodies were deposited ⁵⁴, with good hopes of returning

⁵⁴ Ægyptii periti sapientiæ condita diutius referant cadavera, scil. ut anima multo tempore perduret,

again into their own, if those bodies could be preserved until the great period came round. But in case they mouldered away, or were destroyed by violence, their soul would be allotted to some new body, and in that again exposed to all the same hazards of vice and pollution it had happily escaped in the first. The Egyptians, in their symbolical way, express the permanent and incorruptible nature of the soul by certain immutable proportions of number⁵⁵; from whence PYTHAGORAS, they say, learnt to call it a self-moving number, expressing in a mystical sense, mind, or an essence that had nothing in it of matter, which is flux and changeable. Some believe the pyramidal form to be expressive of certain sacred and mystical doctrines; but I think it more natural to suppose, that in those monuments which were intended to endure through a long course of ages, it was pitched upon principally as being a form the most permanent and lasting. It might moreover be designed in honor to the chief objects of their worship; for pyramids and obelisks have been very ancient representations of the celestial divinities, by allusion to the pyramidal or conical forms, in which the rays are emitted from a luminous body. The⁵⁶ pyramids I saw stand upon the brow of a

& corpori sit obnoxia, ne cito ad aliud transeat. *SERVII*
Comment. in v. 67. *Aeneid.* lib. iii.

⁵⁵ Τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν ἑαυτὸν κινῶντα, τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν
αἰτὶ τῶ νῶ παραλαμβάνει. *PLUT.* de placit. lib. iv. c. 2.

⁵⁶ GREAVES'S *Pyramydographia*.

rocky hill, which rises in a gentle ascent from the level plains by Memphis, but the same rock is continued westward to the steep mountains of Lybia. Each side of the greatest pyramid contains about seven hundred Grecian feet in length; the sides ascend by rows, rising like stairs from the bottom to the top. The height is computed to be nearly equal to the base. The river enters by a secret channel into a great subterraneous vault underneath this pyramid⁵⁷; and in the middle of that receptacle is an insular fabric, where the king's body, who finished the pyramid, was intended to be entombed. A great causeway, paved in some places with granite marble, lies from the banks of the Nile to the brow of the hill whereon this pyramid stands. Southward, about a bow-shot from this, we meet with another, the next in magnitude, but which falls short of the dimensions of the first; neither are the stones which compose it of so vast a size. The sides rise not by degrees like that, but are a smooth sliding plain from the bottom to the top. It is bounded by the north and west with a row of cells⁵⁸, the whole like a regular fabric, hewn out in the hard rock. On the west side likewise of the great pyramid is a large pile of building of the Basaltes stone⁵⁹; from whence, as from the cells round the second, are secret passages into both, but through them only the priests or the initiated ever enter. South east is the famous Sphinx, a colossal figure of an immense

⁵⁷ HEROD. Euterp.

⁵⁸ GRAVES, ubi supra.

⁵⁹ Id. Ibid.

size, computed to be in length one hundred and forty-three feet, in height sixty-two, and one hundred and two in compass about the head. It was undoubtedly erected there to express the season of the inundation. The third pyramid stands distant from the second about a furlong, upon an advantageous height, whereby afar off it appears equal to the former, though indeed the whole pile is much less and lower; yet for the structure and beauty of the marble it excels both that and the great one. Close adjoining to it, on the east side, is another building, of a dark stone like Thebaic marble. At a distance we could discern to the south several other pyramids, which lie scattered through a desert tract on the confines of Lybia, and are found all along the upper region to the borders of Æthiopia; many of which I saw in my passage the last year down the Nile: but most of them, though very durable in their kind, were the work of earlier and more simple ages, when the Egyptians were rather desirous to preserve their remains inviolable, than ambitious to leave conspicuous monuments of their state and magnificence. They were erected by the ancient kings of the Thinite dynasty, or in their times. However, there is, I am told, one among them, which nearly equals in its dimensions the largest of these, by Memphis. Next in antiquity to those, and more ancient than these, are two admirable pyramids standing in the middle of the great lake Mœris. For CHEMMIS, (whom HERODOTUS uses to call
CHEOPS,

CHEOPS, making a Greek name of the Ægyptian,) who is reputed the founder of the first of these by Memphis, was among the descendants or successors of SESOSTRIS; and SESOSTRIS himself was later than Mœris. CEPHREN and MYCERINUS, to whom the second and third are ascribed, were one the brother, the other, a son of CHEMMIS. The great lake of Mœris was contrived for a balance to the waters in the annual inundation. And there is a communication from the river to the lake by a great ditch, eighty furlongs in length, and three hundred feet in breadth, by which it may receive the superfluity of water when the Nile rises to an excessive height, as by opening its other sluices the country a great distance round it may be supplied in seasons when the river fails. And though the expense of opening and shutting the sluices be very great, yet it is certainly a work of the greatest benefit to Ægypt. In the midst of the lake the king contrived a place for his sepulchre, and raised two stately pyramids, the one for himself, the other for his wife; and upon the summit of each he placed a colossus of marble sitting upon a throne. From the foundation the pyramids are a hundred fathoms high; they are seen fifty fathoms above the water, and are hid as many fathoms under it; so that the lake is in some places three hundred feet in depth, and, as HERODOTUS persuades me, was all made by art. The circumference is computed at three thousand six hundred furlongs. It lies about six hundred furlongs above the

city of Memphis. We passed in a boat across this lake to the Labyrinth, which is said to have been built by joint consent of the twelve kings, who reigned in Ægypt after the expulsion of SETHON, the priest of VULCAN. The fabric is the most wonderful in its kind in all the world, from which DÆDALUS received the model of the much-famed Labyrinth he built in Crete. The subterraneous apartments were all cut by hand in the solid rock; which might pass for an incredible story, were it not considered that the whole rock is a sand stone, which contributes to the preservation of the bodies deposited within it. And in these wonderful apartments are the *gabbares*⁶⁰, or mummies, of the twelve kings who built the Labyrinth, with the remains of crocodiles, and other their sacred animals. But if the labor and expense of sinking pits, and excavating vaults, in the solid rock, or raising such immense piles of stone above ground, to secure the human remains from the violence of after-ages, may be in some sort accounted for upon a persuasion they firmly maintain with regard to the soul's revolution; yet their paying an equal regard to the remains of the most noxious animals can be resolved into nothing but the most extravagant phrensy and superstition. The whole nome, which takes its name from the

⁶⁰ So the embalmed bodies were called in the language of the country, as ST. AUGUSTIN confirms: "Morum enim habent siccare corpora, & quasi ænea reddere; Gabbaras ea vocant." AUG. serm. 120. de diversis. Note by the translator.

neighbouring town of Arsinoe, pays an extravagant veneration to crocodiles. These are embalmed with most exquisite art, and set up in niches, as the bodies of birds and other animals are through every part of the subterraneous chambers. At the angle where the Labyrinth ends, there is a pyramid of two hundred and forty feet in height, with a basis of the same dimensions, on which are engraved colossal figures of animals: the passage that leads to it is under ground. The several corridors and intricate passages of the Labyrinth below seem to answer, as nearly as we could compare them together, to the apartments above; of which, as I know HERODOTUS has given the most exact description, I will not be tedious in attempting it after him. It was by a very particular interest with CHERES, the Ægyptian priest, who accompanied us in this tour, that I gained admittance into the apartments under ground, of which HERODOTUS himself was denied a sight the first time that he travelled into Ægypt. But I must have been initiated to have entered the pyramids; the preparations for which I have no time now to go through.

I write this from Sais, a city of ancient note in the Delta, the curiosities of which, after I have taken a regular survey of them, may furnish out another letter to you, before I begin my voyage for Greece. But I willingly confess, CLEANDER, that you are so well instructed in the philosophy and learning of those sages, who were most conversant in the recondite

doctrines of Ægypt, that I have corresponded with you more for my own sake, than for any information I could hope to give you from the little I have gained by my inquiries. HERODOTUS said, upon seeing your epistle on the Eleusinian mysteries, " This Ephesian has
" discovered more of those secrets, by a shrewd
" induction from some slight and unguarded
" hints of his Athenian friends, than any ought
" to know who is not an initiate, or than an
" initiate should dare to reveal:" and he hath religiously omitted the very mention of them in his history. Adieu.

From Sais.

L.

The End of the fifth Year of the Peloponnesian War.

*A. M. 3578. Third Year of the 88th Olympiad.
The sixth Year of the Peloponnesian War.*

LETTER CII.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

ALAS! CLEANDER, the throne of CYRUS has lost its firmest support, and our monarch the ablest of his ministers, in the person of MEGABYZUS. This great man expired, full of years and honors, at his palace in Susa, the fifteenth of this moon, with a circumstance attending his death, which rarely befalls those in his station, that both the tears of the prince and the lamentations of the people attended him to the grave. And indeed their sorrows were with good reason united; for the hereditary estates and dignities, which descended to him from his grandfather MEGABYZUS, who assisted to destroy the Magian tyranny, and his father ZOPYRUS, who took Babylon, threw him under no temptations of complying servilely with the measures of a court to raise a fortune, or of giving up the interest of the crown, from which he derived his honors, through an affectation of popularity. At the same time, the virtue and generosity of his temper rendered him incapable of suggesting any counsels but such as

tended to the mutual benefit of the monarch and the subject. His many shining qualities, and glorious exploits, are at present the reigning topic of our conversation. And though the remembrance of them rather serves to imbitter than allay our concern, permit me, in compliance with the general task, to indulge myself a little on a subject to which thou thyself mayst be in part a stranger, since thy acquaintance at court was not formed till the most active scenes of his life were over.

MEGABYZUS was educated under the eyes of his father in the regular and manly discipline of the ancient Persians; of all others the best adapted to rectify the heart. Hence he imbibed those principles of justice and fortitude, which carried him through the world with untainted integrity. He was early inured to the dangers of war, according to the custom of the young Persian satraps; and performed such services in his first campaigns, as recommended him to the notice of DARIUS, a prince remarkable for a superior skill in distinguishing the merit of his subjects. In the next reign, MEGABYZUS's favor was so far from being diminished, that, when XERXES undertook his expedition against Greece, he made him general of the land forces in conjunction with MARDONIUS; and, as a farther mark of distinction allied him to the royal blood, by a marriage with AMYTIS, his daughter. As thou knowest that the ill success of the invasion of Greece was owing to the rash counsels which conducted it, there is reason to believe, that

MEGABYZUS took no greater share in the management of the war, than the duties of his office required from him; and even declined being concerned in a project, on which XERXES would have sent him, of plundering Delphi. It was in the happy reign of our present monarch, that the merits of this great man principally displayed themselves; for the wisdom of the prince never fails to shed a cherishing influence over the abilities of his servants. The first service which MEGABYZUS performed was no less than that of discovering and preventing the treasons of ARTABANUS, who, after taking away the life of XERXES, imputed the murder to his eldest son DARIUS; and when this detested calumny had brought undeserved punishment on the young prince, he continued his practices against ARTAXERXES, the next heir. MEGABYZUS, not content with distinguishing his fidelity by tracing out this dangerous conspiracy, gave strong proofs of his courage in a battle against the adherents of ARTABANUS, who raised a rebellion to revenge his death. He was afterwards thought the fittest person to command in Ægypt, where the natives had taken the advantage of these troubles to throw off their obedience to Persia, and were strongly supported by the Athenians. MEGABYZUS defeated the rebels and their allies in a battle near Memphis, and soon reduced them to surrender, upon this single condition, that their lives should be spared.

Thou wilt wonder that I pass over in silence a few succeeding years of this great

man's life; let it suffice to say, that by a steady observance of duty through the remaining part of it, he expiated the short folly he had been guilty of, in departing from that strict submission to his prince which is required by the laws of Persia. Those who were acquainted with his high spirit, and high notions of honor, were perhaps less surprised than others at his indignation, to see his successful services so ill requited, as that the Egyptian prisoners, and INARIUS, their pretended king, should be put to death, contrary to the public faith, which he had engaged to them for their safety. On his return to court, our monarch, who perhaps thought him not sufficiently humbled, or had a mind to put his fidelity to a trial, took hold of an occasion to banish him to Cirta, on pretence that he had violated a standing law of the empire, which enjoins that none should dare at any hunting to strike the beast, before the king had thrown his javelin. MEGABYZUS behaved himself with such resignation in his exile, that, by the intercession of his friends, he was restored to the royal favor, and employed to oppose the attempts of CIMON. The constant run of ill success, which attended us in every engagement with the Greeks, had so dispirited our soldiers, that all the conduct of MEGABYZUS could not inspire them with courage, in a battle which he ventured against the Athenian general on the coasts of Cilicia. This induced him to be a strenuous adviser of peace, that the empire might have leisure and

opportunity to recover its losses. The conditions of the treaty, which goes by the name of CIMON'S peace, were, as thou knowest, rather suited to the exigency of our affairs, than the honor or advantage of the empire, and occasioned at first great discontents among the people. But MEGABYZUS both foresaw and foretold the advantages which must ensue to us, when the Greeks, delivered from foreign wars, would in all probability turn their arms against themselves. This always made him attentive to the progress of those disturbances, which the restless ambition of the states, where thou residest, perpetually excites. He employed ARTHMIUS of Zelis to soment the quarrels between Athens and Sparta; and when the war now carrying on was ready to break out, proposed in council, that thou shouldst be sent to watch over the counsels of Greece. Thou gavest him so much satisfaction in this employment, that on his death-bed he spoke of thy abilities in the strongest as well as the kindest terms, to the king himself, who did him the honor of a visit.

And in truth, my CLEANDER, thou hast occasion for the patronage of all thy friends. TERIBAZUS, the treasurer, whose crafty insinuating temper thou art not unacquainted with, privately impels that positive old counsellor, the master of the posts, to spread about disadvantageous reports of thy conduct. They give out, that thou hast indeed transmitted the news of the Piræus with tolerable exactness; but neither raised up friends to Persia, nor

penetrated into the secrets of the Athenian counsels. That, instead of joining with CLEON and his faction, whom it is our interest to support, as they desire the continuance of the war, thou conversest with none but those who declare for peace, and even minglest in their cabals. PETISAS, the eunuch, and ARTASIRAS, keeper of the records, do thee ill offices. The chief aim of this foolish intrigue, of which I have taken some pains to get to the bottom, is to contrive thy removal from Athens, that one TIMOCLES may be thy successor. He is a rhetorician of Eubœa, who having fled his country for debt, has rambled over most part of Greece, and procured recommendations to some of the satraps here. He appears, from the little I have seen of him, to be a talkative conceited pedant, pretending to great correspondences in Greece, and to be well skilled, not only in the politer arts, which have been his study, but in the politics of each republic, and the dispositions of the ruling men. He is a constant attendant at the tables of several of our satraps, to whom he pays an assiduous court, by flattering every splendid vanity, and complying with each fantastic humor of his patrons; the never-failing arts by which a parasite and sycophant finds means to shut the doors of the great against modest worth. I can assure thee, that the calumnies of thy enemies make no impression upon the mind of our sovereign. He has supported the remonstrances of GOBRYAS, by such express orders to the treasurer concerning thy remittances, as he will not dare

to disobey. That honest minister is employed in the friendly but disagreeable office of settling the affairs of MEGABYZUS's family, which are much disordered by the infamous practices of APOLLONIDES, the physician. I know not how to explain to thee, at this distance, such a complication of guilt. That Coan wretch has dared to pollute the honor of the royal blood, and stain the bed of his master and benefactor with adultery. But let me draw a veil over this scene of iniquity, and only wish that the name of AMYTIS may not descend to posterity in the annals of the family of ACHÆMENES. The bare touching this subject renews my grief for the loss of so able a minister, which those alone are capable of feeling as they ought, whom history and experience teach how much the influence of one superior genius contributes to the happiness of nations ⁶¹. Farewel.

From Susa.

P.

⁶¹ It is not improper to observe here once for all, that the principal facts in these letters, relating to MEGABYZUS and his family, are likewise mentioned, though with less accuracy and fewer circumstances, in the fragments of CTESIAS, which are usually printed at the end of HERODOTUS. The confirmation which those fragments receive from our collection, will probably give the reader a better opinion of the CNIDIAN physician's veracity, whose fabulous accounts of India have greatly sunk the credit of his Persian history; though one would imagine that his long residence in the court of ARTAXERXES MNEMON, and his personal favor with that prince, must have enabled him to compile it from the most authentic materials. Note by the Translator.

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LETTER CIII.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

I HAVE taken all opportunities of improving my acquaintance with SOCRATES. The several conversations I have had with him, on the subject of religion, give me no reason to repent of it. And this thou wilt perhaps think strange, when I ingenuously confess to thee, that he has unsettled the favorable sentiments I entertained before, of every known mode of popular worship established on the earth: such is either the dexterity or the force of his reasonings. We walked out together the other day in a very speculative mood, at some distance from the city, towards the shore, where we surveyed the ravages which the sea has lately made on the opposite coast of Eubœa. It was a melancholy prospect to observe trees torn up by the roots; the hopes of the husbandman floating on the surface of the waters; and as the scene made a strong impression on my fancy, so it called up my compassion. I could not help crying out, in a fit of very humane enthusiasm, "Good Providence! why dost thou suffer the evil principle to deform and desolate thy works! How will it glad the universe to see the day, when the power indulged to this being shall submit to thine!"

SOCRATES interrupted me, while I was running on in my complaints; "And pray,

“ (said he,) CLEANDER, do you know the in-
 “ tention of the Creator, in producing that
 “ infinite variety of weeds and insects, which
 “ follow one another in numberless successions
 “ every hour, and which suffer as much from
 “ the tread of the thinking philosopher, as of
 “ the heedless peasant? These always seem
 “ superfluous, and are often inconvenient to
 “ us; and yet doubtless have their use and im-
 “ portance in the system. Are you acquainted,
 “ (continued he,) with the design of the
 “ shipwright in each rope, sail, or timber,
 “ that contributes to the building of a galley?
 “ And yet you can trust to his discretion and
 “ experience in such matters. Perhaps the
 “ tone of every string upon the Doric harp
 “ may, when separately taken, be jarring
 “ and unpleasant; and yet their sounds are so
 “ exactly proportioned to each other, as to
 “ compose the most striking and engaging me-
 “ lody. Will you then place less confidence
 “ in the mechanism of the divine artist, than
 “ in that of a shipwright? Or, because you
 “ know more of the harmony of an harp than
 “ of the universe, will you doubt the skill of
 “ him who formed the music of the spheres,
 “ and preserves the minutest atom that lies
 “ under our feet, or the largest orb that rolls
 “ over our heads, in its proper situation?”
 “ The submission you recommend (returned I)
 “ is a good maxim.” “ If then (answered he)
 “ you are by no means master of the volume
 “ of nature, why should you pretend to cri-
 “ ticise it? If you are persuaded of the Deity’s

“ existence and omnipotence; of the boundless
“ wisdom, benevolence, and rectitude of his
“ nature; satisfy your doubts with the rational,
“ as well as pious, solution, that whatever happens,
“ either in the natural or moral world,
“ with respect to its ultimate tendency, and
“ the good of all, operates as it ought to do.
“ And that oriental doctrine of the future
“ resignation of power to be made by ARIMANUS
“ to OROMASDES, is neither more nor less
“ than a figurative or allegorical manner of
“ expressing this plain truth. Who knows but
“ the guardian genius of our state may have
“ turned the inundation, resulting necessarily
“ from those general laws by which matter is
“ directed, on the coast of Eubœa, where its
“ consequences are less fatal than they would
“ have been on that of Athens? Perhaps,
“ therefore, we have reason to be particularly
“ thankful. Let that be as it will; it is agreed
“ that storms and tempests are of service in
“ clearing the atmosphere from vapors: and
“ why may not earthquakes and torrents, however
“ they injure and distress us for a while,
“ answer some unknown purposes of lasting
“ benefit? Of these things we are both incompetent
“ and improper judges.”

“ I see (interrupted I) what you aim at:
“ you would argue that all evil is partial, and
“ not absolute; that what we see of it arises
“ not from any malevolent being, counteracting
“ the good one, but from the original scheme
“ and constitution of things. At the same time you
“ must own, that uninterrupted tradition, one

“ of the most universal and acknowledged ar-
 “ guments for the belief of a Providence, speaks
 “ as strongly in support of the opinion which
 “ you controvert. This opinion has been long
 “ held by the Persians, and many other na-
 “ tions of the world. For they thought (and
 “ rightly I believe) that evil in no shape what-
 “ ever could be derived from God: they
 “ thought, that as he is perfectly good, he
 “ could never intermix the least share of it in
 “ his works; and as he is perfectly wise, they
 “ imagined, if the whole had depended on his
 “ will, he would have been careful to con-
 “ trive it better.” “ From such narrow and
 “ contracted views of the system (replied SO-
 “ CRATES) men have conceived it necessary to
 “ suppose an ARIMANIUS, in order to clear
 “ difficulties; little apprehending that all evil,
 “ like the viper, carries along with it an an-
 “ tidote for the poison it sheds. We find vice,
 “ or moral evil, is attended with pain, or na-
 “ tural evil: by this means men are brought
 “ to a sense of what is right, and natural evil
 “ in its turn produces moral good. By another
 “ revolution, very obvious and frequent, moral
 “ good brings forth natural good; and that,
 “ producing riot and excess, again brings forth
 “ moral evil. Such is the revolving condition
 “ of things; nor is any part of the creation
 “ calculated to unhappy ends, in the whole
 “ golden chain of causes and effects, which
 “ hangs down from heaven to earth, and is
 “ fixed to the foot of Jove’s throne. You see
 “ there is no occasion for the bad principle,

“ to account for appearances in morals or in
“ physics. It is then highly reasonable to be-
“ lieve there is none.” But, (said I) to wave
“ the supposition of a malevolent being ex-
“ isting from all eternity; methinks another
“ opinion is not absurd, which is derived from
“ ancient tradition, that before the formation
“ of the world out of Chaos, a certain spirit
“ of high order revolted from his allegiance to
“ the Deity, and drew off with him a large
“ number of demons. These perpetually en-
“ deavour to disturb the regularity of the uni-
“ verse, and are more especially employed in
“ haunting the ways of men, and suggesting
“ to us those iniquities, which may reduce us
“ to the same state of misery with themselves.”

“ Even this sentiment, answered SOCRATES,
“ appears to me liable to such difficulties as
“ sufficiently explode it; although it is secure
“ from the great variety of contradictions, on
“ which the other is founded. It is improbable,
“ that a being so excellent in rational endow-
“ ments, and therefore sensible of his own
“ finiteness, should entertain a thought of re-
“ bellion against the infinite Providence. We
“ find even men, frail and short-sighted as they
“ are, exposed to innumerable unruly appetites,
“ and ever complying with their impulse, are,
“ when they commit vice, far from meaning
“ to affront the Deity, and only design to gratify
“ a craving and tormenting passion. Such
“ beings, as the revolted ones you speak of,
“ could not then be so absurd, as to attempt
“ dethroning that power who raised them from
“ nothing,

“ nothing, and by whose goodness they subsisted;
“ and as they were of so sublime a nature, they
“ could be open to no passion, but the more
“ refined one, of ambition or of pride. From
“ the saint attacks of both these, the purity of
“ their judgments would preserve them: in
“ the former case, a just sense of the divine
“ perfections; in the latter, of their own.
“ Else, I would ask, of what value is exalted
“ reason? But granting there is this common-
“ wealth of evil spirits existing in the vast ex-
“ panse; yet I doubt whether they are suffered
“ to break in upon the borders of our world.
“ To speak plainly, I must think their agency
“ here not only neither terrible nor trouble-
“ some, but entirely unnecessary. Our virtue
“ is sufficiently assaulted by internal passions
“ or external allurements; and reason often
“ quits the field, unequal to the combat. It
“ is to be presumed, therefore, if these spirits
“ are permitted to ensnare mankind, that the
“ good Being gives us, in those moments, an
“ extraordinary power, to assist our reason in
“ withstanding the extraordinary temptations
“ which engage our appetites. So that, ad-
“ mitting the fact to be as you state it, we are
“ just in the condition in which we were be-
“ fore, as to the proportion of *temptation* to
“ invite transgression, and of *reason* to support
“ virtue. Hence I maintain that the agency
“ of these beings is unnecessary; and as the
“ wisest of all Beings can do nothing that is
“ superfluous, I must think the opinion is an
“ error, however supported by tradition, or

“ enforced by authority. The truth is, the
“ belief of the evil principle (as I have already
“ explained to you) arose from the conjectures
“ of Ignorance; and the worship of him arose
“ from the suggestions of Fear; the two fatal
“ ingredients of Superstition, which begins in
“ the first, and terminates in the last. For the
“ understanding and the passions reciprocally
“ misrepresent objects, and serve to confirm
“ one another in their mutual mistakes. I
“ hardly imagine this idolatry took place soon
“ after the creation of things, or early in a
“ state of innocence and nature. The human
“ race would be pleased in the beginning with
“ the freshness and novelty of all around
“ them. They would address themselves to
“ the good principle, in songs of thanksgiving;
“ and as, during their artlessness and simplicity,
“ scarcely any natural evils, and no moral evils
“ appeared, they would not turn their thoughts
“ or adoration to the bad principle. And
“ indeed it is rational to suppose, that it
“ would be in the infancy of an undepraved
“ world, as in the infancy of man. We should
“ be more governed by hope, a passion that
“ attends the harmless and unpractised; than
“ by fear, a passion that grows only from dis-
“ appointments and experience. Afterwards,
“ when regular societies were, by degrees, scat-
“ tered over the face of the earth, natural evil
“ increasing with the improvements of art and
“ the fantastic elegancies of life, and moral
“ evil springing up from the refinements of
“ policy and the jarring interests of private

“ persons and of nations, mankind became
“ dissatisfied with the dispensations of Pro-
“ vidence, not apprehending they had brought
“ these calamities on themselves; endeavoured
“ to search for the cause of them; and at last
“ dressed up in their affrighted imaginations
“ that airy vision of the malicious being. Thus
“ stands the origin of the opinion, whose
“ progress I take to have been this:

“ When the difficulty of accounting for
“ the phenomenon of evil was first started in
“ the minds of men, they thought their God
“ was enraged with them, believing he had
“ the seeds of peevishness within him as well
“ as they; and in order to mollify him, they
“ worshipped him under the particular con-
“ sideration of his angry actions. This was
“ done in many countries by the worship of
“ evil characters recorded in their histories,
“ which were thought to be emblematical of
“ the wrathful agency of the Deity. In Tyre,
“ and in Carthage, (a Tyrian colony,) they
“ still continue to offer human sacrifices to
“ SATURN, or MOLOCH, who probably was
“ once a cruel tyrant in that kingdom, and
“ adored upon his death, to prevent him from
“ persevering, in another life, in the male-
“ volent dispositions he had shown to his people
“ in this. The worship of SATURN was after-
“ wards interpreted to bear a general allusion
“ to the disorder observed in the system, and
“ regarded only as a peculiar manner of ap-
“ peasing the anger of the one Deity. The
“ case was the same in Ægypt as to the worship

“ of TYPHON, who, in his historical capacity,
“ was the disturber of his country, as OSIRIS
“ was the benefactor of it; in his allegorical,
“ he was the burning heat of the sun producing drought in their lands, and the anger
“ of the Deity exerting itself in the punishment
“ of the world. But when men saw an interrupted train of evils come in upon them,
“ instead of here and there an inconvenience
“ or a mischief as at first, they thought these
“ different operations could not be derived
“ from one cause; and to remedy the seeming
“ inconsistency, they imputed the good effects
“ to one being, and the evil to another. Hence
“ they implored the assistance of the one, and
“ deprecated the resentment of the other; never
“ reflecting, that however they might hope to
“ soften a being various in his temper, it was
“ absurd to entreat or expect compassion from
“ one perfectly malicious.” I am very much
“ obliged to you, SOCRATES, (said I,) for
“ your unreserved disquisition of this matter;
“ and since we have entered so fairly and insensibly into the subject of idolatry, I wish
“ you would go on with it.” “ We are now
“ (answered the philosopher) returned to the
“ city, and my engagements call me to a symposium with ALCIBIADES. But I flatter myself another opportunity will soon be offered
“ to us.” And so we parted.

Whether there was any weight in these reasonings, thy penetration will inform thee. Thou wilt at least judge from hence, how freely SOCRATES discourses on every point of moral

instruction and popular belief. For my own part, I was silenced, not convinced by his arguments; or, if I were convinced, I was unwilling to be converted by them.

The detection of error, ORSAMES, is as necessary to the confirmation of truth, as the contemplation of vice to the practice of virtue. And yet I question, whether it be worth while to think for ourselves upon these matters, to reform speculative errors, and depart from received opinions. Such inquiries expose a man to various censures. The discreet upbraid him with imprudence, the prejudiced with absurdity, the dull with affectation, and the bigots with impiety. In Greece indeed there is one circumstance attending these studies, which prevents the ill consequences that might otherwise arise from them. For the philosophers, not esteeming the people fit to be admitted into their Arcana, lay it down, that truth is intended for private entertainment, rather than for public utility; as if it were like the water of the Choaspes, whose refreshing draughts are indulged to none but the sovereigns of Asia.

C.

LETTER CIV.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS the Mage.

WONDER not, wise SMERDIS, that I frequently send thee my observations on human nature, and its efforts towards wisdom in this country. Assure thyself, no place in the world affords such variety as Greece. Thou, who art used to converse with a people contented with the wisdom of ZOROASTER, livest in perpetual calm. Thou canst have no conception of the turns and whimsical fallies of the human mind, where full liberty is indulged. The peace which arises from an union of opinion, is like a dead still sea; without danger indeed, but it shows not the strength and nature of that element. In this place, if a man preserve but an external regard for the gods, the principles of philosophy and religion are mere matters of choice. He may take what master he pleases; or, if he like it better, (which some have affected,) he may take none, and so have the credit of being self-taught, and perhaps too of being the only follower, as well as founder, of his system.

There is a man of no small note at Abdera, who to a knowledge of nature has joined that of mankind. By a constant train of reasoning, founded on experiment, he attained the one; and the change of manners, that a course of

travels presented him, gave him a sufficient insight into the other. The result of this improved genius is something extraordinary; he very much affects solitude, but with no design towards serious speculations; nothing is farther from him: he shuns men, not to avoid the gaiety of conversation and the impertinence of mirth, but because he can enjoy himself better, and be merrier without them. Nobody laughs more heartily at a jest he has just heard, than this philosopher does at his own ordinary reflections. His imagination affords him a constant supply of ridiculous images; but if any of his neighbours interrupt his merriment by falling in his way, he turns the laugh upon them. It is to no purpose to tell him they are disposed to be serious; that they expect his condolence for the loss of their treasure, the failure of a vintage, or the death of a relation. He knows no passion but one; and whatever turn of mind their fortune gives them, his is always to be merry. In short, if he hears that an heir is born, or a family is extinct; if he be told of new honors conferred, or disgrace falling upon a great man; of the success of an army, or its defeat; his laughter is equally immoderate. This philosophic turn has something so particular in it, that the whole town agreed to send for HIPPOCRATES to cure him of his frenzy. The physician, upon his arrival, found him in the laborious employment of dissecting animals, and was received with a loud laugh; which, however, was so far from

convincing him of his patient's disorder, that, after some conversation with him, he turned back with indignation, and said, he was the only man amongst them in his sound senses.

Thou, my venerable friend, whose composed mind is as the serene brightness of the moon, wilt almost fancy this extravagant character is of my own forming. But I assure thee I have heard also of another master in philosophy of a direct opposite turn, who weeps at every thing which raises the mirth of the odd citizen of Abdera. I cannot tell which of these two to prefer; and it is impossible to approve both. But I think, if that learned phylician had confined them together, till they had reconciled their systems to each other, he would have taken a reasonable method of bringing them to that moderation which thou art too well acquainted with, either to let the vice and misery of our species subject thy mind to perpetual melancholy, or the vanities and follies of it be the materials for thy sport and merriment. Farewel.

H.

LETTER CV.

ARTAXERXES *the KING* to CLEANDER.

THE satisfaction which you have given us, by your diligence and abilities in the discharge of your employment at Athens, hath been so great, that we have not only ordered our ministers to signify it to you in their dispatches, but bestowed several marks of our royal favor upon you, as a just reward of your faithful services.

We do not doubt of the continuance of that zeal and industry which hath hitherto appeared in your conduct; and have therefore thought fit to intrust you with an affair of the highest importance, which demands as much secrecy in the management, as speed in the execution. You cannot be ignorant, that during the time of our royal father, the people of Bœotia, particularly the Thebans, were well affected to the Persian cause, and, even in opposition to the rest of Greece, made the submission of earth and water, which was demanded of them; persevering in their fidelity to us inviolably, till the unfortunate battle of Platæa. We have lately received undoubted intelligence, that notwithstanding the change which happened at Thebes, soon after that action, and the general notion, that the city is entirely devoted to the interest of Lacedæmon, there still subsist great remains of the old

Median faction, who want nothing but encouragement from us, and supplies of money, to take the government into their hands. Upon these grounds we direct you, that without the least delay, or staying for further orders, you set out for Thebes; and if you find things in the condition in which we have reason to believe they are, you must concert, with the descendants of TIMAGENES and ARTAGINUS, (families well known for their adherence to our interest,) those alterations in the senate and magistracy, which may bring that state back to its former measures. It will then be easy for you to prevail, that we may be admitted into the Peloponnesian league, or at least the Bœotian confederacy; and that a proper place of arms, as the fortress of Elatea, may be provided for the reception of the troops we shall send to their assistance. We have ordered our treasurer TERIBAZUS to send you, by the ship which conveys this packet, remittances sufficient to enable you to put our design in execution; and so not doubting that you will exert your utmost industry and abilities to accomplish this important service, we recommend you to the protection of OROMASDES.

Given at Susa the palace, the 22d of the moon Aban, in the 41st year of our reign.

P.

LETTER CVI.

CLEANDER to ORSAMUS.

I MET SOCRATES very lately returning from a sacrifice, at which he had been present with many others in the temple of Minerva. "I esteem myself extremely fortunate, (said I,) in meeting you at a season so opportune for religious speculations. You know the claim which I have upon you; and though various things have passed since our last conference, in the daily course of business and conversation in which we are engaged; yet I assure you, my thoughts have often recurred to the matters you insisted on." After some recollection, the philosopher began thus: "That the best things are liable to the greatest degeneracy, is a very evident maxim; because in their original formation they are furthest from it. The step from one degree of imperfection to another, is not so striking as the fall from perfect purity to absolute depravity. The state of religion in the world comes up to this observation. When it was sent down from heaven, it was amiable as its divine author, agreeable to the conclusions of reason, and the surest ally of it; in a word, every way suited to that plan of action which is best for moral agents. But now it has contracted intricacy, and thrown off its simplicity; it has adopted severity instead of cheerfulness; and though, according to the fair

exemplar engraven on the untainted mind, it was the most unfit cover for the purposes of guilt, it is become the common instrument of iniquity and dissimulation. These are the corruptions of weak heads and unsound hearts. The former have made religion an absurd thing, and the latter an immoral one. Like an useful medicine, it was first spoiled by the mixture of superstition, which intoxicated the reason, and then vice applied it to poison the manners of mankind. Indeed, no thorough reformation in the practice of the world can be expected, unless the theory and foundation of virtue is regulated better; and while the belief of Polytheism prevails over that of the unity, it is impossible to establish either. For till a just notion of the nature and attributes of God is popularly taught, the only strong basis of moral speculation is wanting to support the edifice of moral conduct. Whenever that principle is inculcated, fictitious deities will be abolished; and we shall perceive it to be with improvements in religion, as it may some day or other be with physics, effects, before imputed each to a particular cause, will be ascribed to the true general one; for the more we know of nature and morality, the simpler we find both."

"By way of introduction, (said I,) SOCRATES, to your thoughts on the rise of idolatry, to which your discourse has now brought you; let me ask you, whether it is not probable, that God would, in condescension to human infirmities, when first he settled man, that slow and shallow reasoner in the world, make

some supernatural revelation of himself to him, in a manner that should affect his senses." "I was going to have suggested the same remark, (answered he;) and it is from hence we may trace the origin and progress of that worship, which, though struck out in the wildness of barbarism, has been confirmed by the sober policy of legislators. For after God had put us on the right track, it is reasonable to suppose, he would withdraw all sensible manifestations of himself, and suffer the speculative improvements of men to keep pace with their practical. Nevertheless, tradition would be unable to maintain genuine and unadulterated sentiments of him. The gross conceptions of men would still be seeking after some visible emblems or symbols. In such circumstances, they would most readily regard the sun, whom they found to be the great dispenser of light and warmth, as the vicegerent of Providence in the system, to whom the divine energy was more especially communicated. They would consider the moon too as advancing the fruits of the earth by her milder and qualified beams; and in a subordinate degree would reverence the stars and planets. I would even carry this fondness of the early ages for sensible exhibitions much farther. For because the splendor of these celestial fires would sometimes be withdrawn from us by their necessary courses, or concealed by clouds and tempests; it was not unnatural to have recourse to symbols of our own making, and to address ourselves to ordinary terrestrial fire. This would be indeed

the emblem of an emblem; and when once men were adding to their number, one may without difficulty conceive how soon the generality would be distracted with them, and fix their devotion on that object, which was designed only to raise the attention. In considering the several parts of the œconomy, after having paid so much honor to the active powers, they could not neglect the subject of their genial operations, the earth. And so, in process of time, they fell down before the elements which compose the world, then plants and animals, in short every thing derived from them, and adored the parents in the offspring.

“ Such would be religion in a state of nature, unassisted by priests and temples, unadorned by offerings and ceremonies. But when once the arts of life were growing in the world, the rude inventor of a plough, the first sower of grain, the architect of a sorry hut, would after their death be commemorated in mournful rites, and worshipped out of gratitude. Encouraged by the invention of these arts, men would by degrees unite themselves in a social state. They would build cities, divide property, form communities, go out together to oppose their enemies. Hence legislators, magistrates, and generals would arise; and those who, by their artifice or abilities, could gain superior dignity and esteem, would be followed by the vows and entreaties of the people into another state, as soon as they were departed from this. An imagination

that these heroes were capable of continuing their good offices to their friends in a future life, how quickly soever it may be suggested by the belief and desire of immortality incident to all men, would be the more obvious, if any tradition were remaining in the times we speak of, that good spirits were formerly sent down by Providence to watch the earth and its inhabitants, and open any peculiar commissions to mankind. And now theology became more complicated every day.

“ The names of the sun and moon were first bestowed on a good king or queen as a compliment, to intimate, that they resembled those bodies in their beneficial effects. Afterwards, when the adoration of deified mortals was to be advanced into popular establishment, their names were given to these celestial luminaries, instead of the name of each luminary being given to them. It was said too, that they resided personally in different stars; and hence every country has adapted the sphere to its distinct heroes. Thus the transition was very easy from one sort of worship to the other. In more refined ages, the crafty legislator pretended, that his authority came from some old local hero, who had been raised into a tutelar god, either by the superstition of the worshippers for his memory, or their pride in thinking they deserved his particular regard. To these gods, both family and national sacrifices and prayers were offered, agreeably to their various historic tempers. We have already observed how, during the worship of the natural

divinities, they prostrated themselves before the elements of the sensible or irrational system. Analogous to that was the respect shown to the elements of the rational or intellectual, which took its rise from the human apotheosis. They adored justice, fortitude, compassion, and those good qualities of the mind that had exalted the characters of heroes." "The oddest of all worship, (said I,) is that performed to brutes by the Ægyptians. I have taken some pains to inquire into it; and once I received a very ingenious and elaborate letter ⁶² on this subject from a friend of mine, now travelling through the nomes of that country, whose parts and learning I esteem highly. But I should be glad to know, whether your notion of it is the same with that which has been taught me." "I thank you, (answered SOCRATES,) for mentioning a topic so material to our purpose; for some time ago I questioned a learned Athenian who had travelled into Ægypt, and received satisfactory information concerning it. Briefly then, it was indebted for its beginning to the animal hieroglyphics, intended to express the histories and powers of their ancient deified heroes. These pictured symbols, which were emblematical of their characters both before and after the apotheosis, being changed into living ones, that devotion, which was designed to be conveyed through the medium of the figure or animal to the god, was

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⁶² See Letter lxxv.

at last paid ultimately to the animal. From hero-worship is derived an infinite variety of legends and fables, to disguise the real objects of it; for when men began to reason on these points, and applied their natural understandings to examine matters of religion, they thought it absurd to deify their own frail and imperfect species. The priests (who were originally appointed by the legislators of governments and commonwealths to serve many purposes of use to society) sounded an alarm at these inquiries, which struck at the most lucrative part of superstition. This occasioned their pretending, that the greater hero-gods were expressive of the several attributes of the first cause. And in Ægypt particularly, they invented the physical mythology, and new allegorical ceremonies to conceal the foibles and moral blemishes recorded in the histories of their heroes and tutelary deities." "These accounts (returned I) are very plausible, and coincide nearly with what I have heard. But give me leave to ask your thoughts on the dispute so much agitated between the Greeks and Ægyptians, whether Greece borrowed gods from Ægypt, or Ægypt from her. Several treatises have been written on both sides, and copies of them have been transmitted to the learned in both nations. EURYDAMUS, the chief priest in the temple at Eleusis, has gained great credit by his performance in defence of the Grecian claims. I am told a priest of Heliopolis has lately written an answer to him."

“ It is a dispute (replied the philosopher) in which no man of sense interests himself, and which concerns only those formal antiquaries who lay much weight on points of imaginary moment. To me it seems wrapt up in impenetrable darkness, and to this the forgeries produced on both sides have not a little contributed. If I have any opinion on the subject, it is this: since it is generally allowed that Egyptian colonies settled here, I think it likely, that the science of religious rites, and the characters of heroes fit to be made gods, with the names proper to be given them, were brought from thence, and applied to persons in our own country. Many reasons might be offered in support of this sentiment; but I wave going into a detail of them; and thus you have my thoughts on the origin and progress of idolatry, a subject, the curiosity of which is inferior to nothing but its importance. I have delivered myself openly to you, who are my friend; as some would say, *dogmatically*, and not after the manner of those cautious conversations which I hold in public with the sophists.

If you would know why I profess not these things, and undeceive mankind, I answer, it is against my principles to disturb the religion of my country. Wise men in every age are acquainted with all that I have communicated to you; and when they meet with a fair opportunity to work, or a fair disposition in their neighbours to bear a reformation, let them zealously endeavour to effect it; but gradually,

and not at once; but gently, and not forcibly. Let them address their arguments to the reason, without using such methods of conviction as may stir their own passions, or excite the stubbornness of mankind." Thus SOCRATES discoursed, while I was lost in admiration of him.

LETTER CVII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

I HAVE received a letter from HYDASPES the chamberlain, which contains the melancholy news of MEGABYZUS's death, and some friendly cautions with regard to my own safety, now endangered by the intrigues of my powerful enemies. Less solicitous for my private welfare than for that of Persia, I poured out my supplications to OROMASDES, that he would not permit the detested author of ill to bring any farther misfortunes on the empire, when he ought to be satisfied with having deprived ARTAXERXES of his wisest counsellor. I had scarcely time to recover myself from the impression which this fatal event made upon me, when a bark, sent expressly from Ephesus, brought me a dispatch, signed with the king's own hand, and sealed with the royal signet, which enjoins me immediately to repair to Thebes, to foment the practices of the Median faction in that city. I own to thee, noble

scribe, I was not less surpris'd at the order itself than the manner of wording it, and my own designation for the business. The Thebans have been reputed by the most understanding people here, to have been, ever since the change in their government after the defeat of MARDONIUS, firmly attached to the Lacedæmonians, who have laid them under stricter ties by sacrificing Plataea last year to their resentment. The king's letter is drawn in short and general terms, giving me no particular directions to what persons I am to apply, or what offers I am to make those who shall be ready to assist me. It is likewise unaccompanied with any letter or explanation from the ministers, as thou knowest is constantly practised in a business of this nicety and importance. All these circumstances induce me to think, not only that thou wert unacquainted with it, but that the whole is a contrivance of my enemies to remove me from a place where a five years' residence enables me to perform the duties of my station, to another, where I have no correspondence, and can hope for no success. But as I shall always esteem the king's orders, however obtained, too sacred for me (his poor slave) to dispute, I shall take a journey to Thebes in the retinue of an Athenian agent, who is sent thither to treat of an exchange of prisoners. From thence you may expect to hear of me. In the mean time I presume to hope, that, under the shadow of thy protection, I may find a secure shelter from the calumnies of my opposers.

ATHENIAN NEWS.

The plague is renewed at Athens, and spreads daily. The Peloponnesian forces assembled at Corinth under AGIS king of Sparta, but were prevented from invading Attica by the earthquakes which have happened there, as well as in several parts of Eubœa and Bœotia. In this city, part of the fortifications, and some public buildings, particularly the Prytaneum, were thrown down by the violence of the shocks. Two thousand Athenians in sixty galleys, commanded by NICIAS, after making an unsuccessful descent in the island Melos, passed over to Oropus, and advanced to Tanagrum in Bœotia, where, receiving a reinforcement out of Athens, they defeated the natives, and set up a trophy.

P.

LETTER CVIII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. *From Bubastus.*

HERODOTUS has accompanied me through the Delta; for having visited Ægypt a second time, he now is taking another journey into the east, in order to complete that noble work, which was read with applause at Athens some years ago; and to collect materials for a particular history of Affyria and Babylon, which the

world may one day expect from him. There is a city of ancient fame in Palestine, lately rebuilt by the favor of our august monarch, after it had lain in ruins for several years from its destruction under the later Assyrian kings, which he designs to see in his way.

In our return from the pyramids, we came directly to Sais, a place of such fame and antiquity that no curious traveller would omit seeing it. The night we arrived there, the grand festival of the lighting of lamps was solemnized, which is observed after a peculiar manner. All the houses throughout the town of Sais are illuminated with rows of lamps set round the windows on the out-side, at which time a great sacrifice is performed to the guardian Deity of the place, to which as many as can conveniently resort from all parts of Ægypt. But those who cannot be present there at the celebration of it, neglect not, wherever they are, to solemnize the night, and so set out lights before their houses. By this means, not only the town of Sais, but the whole country of Ægypt, is illuminated on that night. The Deity, in honor of whom the festival is kept, is called by the Greeks, MINERVA; but, if I conjecture right, with the Ægyptians is no other than their Isis, who, as I have elsewhere hinted to you, is made universal nature, though differently specified, and partially considered, upon different occasions, under the several powers and attributes which the Greeks ascribe to their respective divinities. The use of lamps and torches, both in religious worship,

and for the purposes of common life, were (the Egyptians say) originally their invention, and first received from them. But however that be, it is certain they had them very anciently in their religious revels and ceremonies; and the application of them to the mysteries of their worship, among other divine symbols, has rendered the symbol itself so sacred in the hieroglyphics, that a lamp in that picture-character implies the whole mystery of the Egyptian religion. From the use of torches and lamps, thus introduced into their religious ceremonies, came the practice of burning them at the shrines of illustrious personages, whom the passionate devotion of their friends desired to honor as divinities, and to rank among superior natures; of the antiquity of which custom a remarkable monument remains in Sais to this day. MERCHERINUS, the seventh king of the Memphite dynasty, to soothe his grief for the loss of an only daughter, erected for her a magnificent repository adjoining to his palace, and ordered a case of wood to be made in the shape of an heifer, richly overlaid with gold, to inclose her remains, intending thereby that divine honors should be paid to her memory, and to graft her worship upon the reigning superstition of Egypt. The heifer is as large as the life, in a kneeling posture, and covered with a scarlet pall. Between the horns is set a circle of gold resembling the rays of the sun. He appointed a certain number of priests to burn incense before it in the day-time, and to light up lamps round the chamber.

in the night, and settled a stipend upon them to continue the ceremony for ever. They constantly once a year bring out the heifer into the open air, after the celebration of certain rites, which may be mysterious, but seem highly absurd in the vulgar account. For in these rites they are said to scourge a certain deity, whose name the profane are not to know. The remains of the ancient palace at Sais are magnificent. The temple of the Goddess, whom the Greeks call MINERVA, contains the sepulchres of those ancient kings that were natives of the Saite nome. In the body of this temple is a magnificent stone chamber, the columns of which are carved in imitation of palm-trees. Here are seen several of those obelisks, which were the ancient representations of the celestial divinities; and near to them is a stone basin, or lake, the workmanship of which is much admired. An inscription on the pavement of this temple countenances the opinion I have advanced, that the Deity of the place is Isis. The inscription runs thus: "I am all that has been, that is, and that shall be, and none among mortals has hitherto taken off my veil." AMASIS, who subdued Apries, the last of the lineage of the Memphite kings, raised a portico to this building, which for its height and dimensions, and the largeness of the stones that compose it, exceeds every thing of that kind in Egypt. He placed about it colossal statues and sphinxes of a prodigious size. A little above the town is a grove called the sanctuary of OSIRIS, where the Saïtes maintain his sepulchre to have been.

We passed from Sais to Bubastus, which is near the full extent of the Delta, part of the way by land, and part through the cuts that communicate between the several channels of the Nile. It were endless to describe to thee, CLEANDER, the beauty and richness of the country; or to enumerate the many ancient cities and towns, which presented themselves to our notice in the whole way. But indeed, though all bespeak the magnificence and glory of this ancient kingdom, I know not any that affords a sight more pleasing than the city where I now am. It is situate where the Bubastic branch of the Nile separates into two channels; one of which discharges itself into the sea at the Tanitic, the other at the Pelusiatic mouth. These streams form a perfect peninsula, in which stands the temple of Bubastis; the city itself lying part between these streams, and part scattered on the two opposite sides of the Nile beyond where the streams divide. The ground on all sides, whereon the buildings of the city are erected, was raised by SESOSTRIS, and afterwards by the Æthiopian king, to a greater height than any other town in Egypt. The peninsula only with the town remains on the same level it always was, and is joined by a narrow isthmus to the land, along which is a vista of thick trees of the tallest growth, continued for the length of three stadiums into the town, and leading through the forum up an ascent to the temple of Mercury. The temple of Bubastis, in length and breadth a stadium, is likewise encompassed with a thick

grove, that casts a delightful shade, and is reflected on the water. It has a stately portico, thirty cubits in height, upon which are figures and bas-reliefs of six cubits; and round the extremities of the island runs a parapet of stone, adorned with much curious sculpture. The temple, with the plantations about it, lying thus in the middle of the town, and surrounded with the water, has a most beautiful effect, as you look down upon it from the city, on every side. The goddess BUBASTIS is by the Greeks called DIANA, but is in reality ISIS, if one may regard the ancient inscription upon her pillar at Nyssa in Arabia. A little above the town begins that famous cut, which was intended for a communication between the Nile and the Red Sea. The digging of it was first attempted by Neco, the son of PSAMMETICHUS, and twelve thousand men perished in the work. DARIUS, after him, made a great progress with better success, but without completing it; discouraged, as tradition goes, by the report of his surveyors, who apprehended it would, when finished, let in the sea upon the Lower Egypt; the level of the Arabian gulph being, as they thought, higher than the Delta. The Egyptians solemnize their religious revels at most of their towns through the Delta several times in the year. But those are most frequented which attend the great sacrifices performed at Bubastus. Great numbers of both sexes come down the Nile at these times in boats together; and the men and women, besides children, that are brought to Bubastus

on occasion of these solemnities, are computed by the inhabitants to be seldom fewer than seventy thousand. Their music all the way is a strange dissonance of flutes, crotala, bad voices, and clapping of hands. At every town by the water-side they stand up to the shore, to give the women in the boats an opportunity of calling out to those at land, who never are at a loss to answer them in the peculiar ribaldry of their water-language. While some of the women are engaged in this scurrilous diversion, the rest are dancing, or making ridiculous gestures.

Strange it is, CLEANDER, and unaccountable, that such mean buffooneries should ever be mistaken for religious rites, or made preparative to the celebration of one of their greatest festivals. But it has been the policy of our government never to interfere with such national extravagancies, as are merely adapted to the genius of the vulgar. For as these institutions fall in with the natural bent of the common people, at the same time that they have the sanction of religious ceremonies, there is nothing they would with greater difficulty give up. The Ægyptian priests could not have taken a surer method for establishing their own authority, than by accommodating the national rites to that strong propension to farcical pomps and revels, which no where prevails more among the common sort than in Ægypt. The people thus gratified and amused, according to their own sense of things, and indulged in all their grossest prejudices,

presume not to arraign the superior wisdom of their teachers, but assent with an implicit reverence to their dictates.

I shall in a very few days set sail from Pelusium. HERODOTUS will part from me at Magdolum, to pass over Mount Casius, and by the lake Serbon into Palestine. That inquisitive traveller has taken abundant pains to examine into the learning of the Egyptian priests, and sift out all the recondite doctrines of their religion; yet, after all, he has cause to complain of their mysterious reservedness. It is discouraging enough, I have often heard him say, to an accurate historian, who is to treat of their religious ceremonies, that he must, in many things, either affect the same mysterious secrecy himself, or appear to posterity to have been a collector of senseless and ridiculous fables. Adieu.

L.

LETTER CIX.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. *From Thebes.*

I HAVE been arrived some days, noble scribe, in this city; and whilst CRITIAS, the Athenian agent, whom I accompanied, was employed in negotiating an exchange of prisoners, I endeavoured to procure the intelligence of the general disposition of the state, and the reliance which can be made on the descendants of those

citizens who were formerly in the Persian interest. My inquiry was much furthered by CRATIPPUS, who has lately removed hither from Sparta, in order to penetrate to the bottom of an intrigue which is carrying on between Thebes and Corinth. I leave his own letters on that affair to speak his vigilance and industry; but I ought in justice to myself to add, that he concurs with me in opinion that my orders were grounded on false information. Thou wilt be able to judge how impracticable it would be to attempt any change of government here, when I tell thee, that the management of affairs is wholly in the hands of the Lacedæmonian faction. The senate is composed of their creatures; the Polemarchs, or chief magistrates of the city, who are chosen annually, and the Bœotarchs, or governors, of Bœotia, over which the Thebans claim a general jurisdiction, are in the same interest; and the better to curb any attempts in favor either of Athens or Persia, a strong garrison is always kept up in the Cadmea. The Lacedæmonians have much gained upon the affections of this people, by the severities which, for their sakes, were inflicted upon the Plataeans. Besides, they are of all the Grecians the most difficult to be forced out of any interest and alliances in which they have been long engaged. With regard to the remains of the Median faction, which in the king's letter are represented as considerable both for their weight and number, it is a fact well known here, that the chiefs amongst them were delivered up by the

Thebans to PAUSANIAS, the Spartan general, who put them to death at Corinth, that the Greeks might, from their example, be warned what punishment those were to expect, who deserted the common interest of their country to join with a foreign invader. This had the desired effect; and the descendants of ARTAGINUS and TIMAGENES are so far from having any inclination to revenge the death of their ancestors, that, had I applied to them, they would, in all probability, have delivered me up to the magistrates. As I therefore imagine it cannot be the intention of my royal master, that I should expose myself to danger, without any prospect of doing him service, I suspend the execution of my orders, till I receive thy answer, which I shall expect in this city; for the increase of the plague at Athens renders my removal thither extremely hazardous. If the supreme council think my further residence here unnecessary, I desire leave to take a progress to the celebrated temple at Delphi.

The magistrates of Thebes have received an express, with an account of the ill success of DEMOSTHENES, the Athenian, against the Ætolians. That general had some success on his first invasion of their country; but the natives having assembled their forces, attacked his army in a forest surrounded by mountains, (the passes of which they had seized,) and gave it a total defeat.

Potent lord, it is from thee I expect my chief support, under the uneasy state of mind to which the calumnies of my enemies have

reduced me. The effects of their malice, in the objections they make to my conduct, are as weak as their malice itself is strong. When they reproach me with having made no friends to Persia, do they consider, that for me to have concerned myself in practices of that nature without particular instructions, would have been highly unwarrantable, and only brought ruin on my own head from all quarters, without advancing in one point the interest of ARTAXERXES? It is even more than probable, that those who now blame me for inactivity, would then have been as liberal of their censures against my intermeddling without orders, and have exerted their best endeavours to procure a disavowal of my conduct. When they accuse me of conversing only with the friends to peace, they show their utter ignorance of my course of life at Athens; else they would know that I have acquaintance enough in both parties to discover the secrets of each; and that I form my accounts impartially from their different representations.

If PHILEMON honors me with his friendship, and NICIAS condescends to take a frugal meal at my house, I have received civilities, on the other hand, from DEMOSTHENES and EPIGENES; and not long before I left Athens, CLEON sent to assure me, upon occasion of some business which I offered to transact for him at Ephesus, that he harboured no malice against me for what happened last year in relation to the Iambics ⁶³.

⁶³ See above, p. 77.

It was that unlucky affair, I am convinced, which gave, a color to the charge against me, of intermixing in the cabals of Nicias's faction. But if thou canst excuse an imprudence, to which the warmth of wine and jollity gave rise, I can assure thee, upon the forfeiture of thy patronage, which I prefer far beyond any interest or concern of my own, that I will religiously avoid making myself obnoxious to any party for the future, except such as the king's service shall at any time oblige me to act against. I have troubled thee thus far, out of that regard which every man owes to his reputation; for otherwise I desire not to be made the object of court intrigue. Suffer me to retire in peace to my paternal farm, in the shady vale near the temple of the Ephesian DIANA; or quit the tumultuous forum of Athens, for the solitary groves of the Bactrian Magi. Wrapt in their thickest shades, I may forget the distracting cares of life, and the perplexities of business. The change will not only be for my quiet, but advantage; here I may learn to be an abler minister, but there to be a better man. Adieu.

The 20th of the month Munychion.

P.

LETTER

LETTER CX.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

THE insolence of the Greeks is inexcusable, CLEANDER. If they enjoy advantages peculiar to themselves, this should not be matter of triumph, since they cannot be assured of their continuance. How speciously was the liberty of Persia guarded by the wisest laws and severest discipline, when the establishment suffered an unavoidable revolution to its disadvantage? CYRUS, the worthiest of all princes, who had been educated in the schools of justice and moderation, was the necessary cause of this change. His great mind could never meditate the oppression of his country, though the accession of Media by inheritance, a vast kingdom under his absolute sway, and the additional conquered provinces, had sufficiently enabled him to compass it. This accumulated power, however, devolved to a less worthy successor; and thou knowest the sequel.

Liberty, which is the secure enjoyment of natural rights under the salutary restrictions of law, was long the inheritance of the Persians. The prince, the satraps, and the people, were in subordination one to another; but their dependance was solely on the laws, to which they owed a common obedience. The prince was supreme, and enjoyed the distinguishing marks of royalty; but in his youth he was not

exempt from the rigorous discipline of a Persian education. In the rest of the constitution (which is peculiar to Persia) the rank of the citizens was determined ordinarily by their years; and the duties, privileges, and honors of the state were adapted to the particular stages of youth, manhood, and old age: but the greatest share of dignity and power was reserved for the last, to crown those who had shown a decent compliance with the laws, in a regular and laudable conduct through the former. The next honorable rank was manhood, to which the citizens were admitted, if they had passed their youth in obedience, military exercises, and honesty. Thus recommended, being arrived at maturity of strength and judgment, they were admitted into active life, pleaded as advocates, or presided as judges; had the charge of the revenue, or employments of distinction among the soldiery; or bore arms in the lowest capacity, as the state required, according to the determination of the aged, who having passed those offices with reputation themselves, governed the inferior orders, and regulated them by their counsels. Thus was every one engaged to submission and obedience to the laws, by the hopes of arriving one day at the administration of them. This expectation kept the eager ambition of youth, and the cooler, but no less dangerous, designs of manhood, in proper bounds, till age admitted them with safety to a trust for which their habitual virtue and experience qualified them. Thus private obedience to legal

authority was easily kept up, which is the great bulwark of public liberty, and which free states find much difficulty in maintaining; because the restraint of it is mistaken for slavery by the injudicious multitude, who delight in tumult and irregularity, and consider them as certain indications of freedom.

This frame of government our countrymen had so much reason to be satisfied with, that they never showed any disposition to innovate, but rather to confirm and perpetuate it. To this end their wisdom was extraordinary and unparalleled; they had long known the necessity there was of forming soldiers by a regular education; and therefore they had trained up their children from their infancy in hardiness, exercise, and coarse diet sparingly dealt to them, which their keen appetite and ready digestion converted into nutriment, leaving no superfluity for noxious humors: they were so far from needing the evacuations of physic, that those of nature were not frequent. They never tried the vicissitudes of swollen bodies and emaciating diseases; their nerves were never high strained by an heated blood, nor relaxed by indolence, but were gradually confirmed in that state which is best suited to the operations of the body, and most helpful to those of the mind. The Persians had used themselves to the method of disciplining the youth for war; and the same wisdom suggested to them, that it would require no less care to train them up for society and the duties of peace. We think it preposterous, said they, to collect a large

body of men, and send them out to fight our battles, without regard to previous discipline. How then can we expect, that every thing that bears the form of a man should be fitted for the manifold duties of society? If we would secure our government, we must encourage the growth of moderation and justice amongst the citizens; which having taken deep root, will not easily suffer themselves to be eradicated by those foul usurpers, avarice, cruelty, and ambition; which first make themselves masters of the human mind, and then excite it to those extravagancies that lay waste the most flourishing kingdoms.

An institution of the youth in social qualifications was therefore agreed upon: but the parent was thought an improper person to be intrusted with it, lest the children might receive any wrong bias from his sentiments, his example, or his partial regard for them. Public schools were appointed; and the wisest of the Magi to preside and instruct the young Persian, not indeed in music, in rhetoric, and the fictions of poets, but the simple qualifications of speaking truth, and practising justice; where they were taught that veracity was always graceful, however unadorned; and learned as much to fear the practice of fraud, as the young Spartan the discovery of it. Their acuteness was nevertheless employed, though not in acting, yet in tracing out falsehood and treachery: for this purpose intricate cases were devised by their masters, which they were obliged to unravel, and disclose all the latent fallacy that

might screen an offender, or prejudice the innocent; and to show the due merits of each party in the case proposed.

All the little differences and quarrels, that arise among playfellows, were examined into, and decided by the strictest rules and forms of justice, where they had frequent occasion to act the part of judge, accuser, and criminal, under the inspection of a master, who never failed to put the sentence in execution, if just; if not, to punish the judge for his ignorance or partiality. Thus were they always ready to become any station in the community, that of a judicious magistrate, an honest and discerning advocate, an able governor, or an obedient inoffensive citizen. Thus had they learned the social duties before they had need of them; for it was thought more salutary, that the manly carriage should make some encroachments on youth, than that there should be any danger, by the neglect of such discipline, that the follies of youth should be propagated into manhood, the public assemblies be interrupted with petulancy, and misguided by ill-informed judgments, or the lives and valuable privileges of a people become the sport of a boyish levity.

Thus the basis of our establishment was the virtue of the citizens; a more durable and substantial one than can be supplied by all the arts of policy, which sometimes pretend to separate the public good from honesty, its natural ally and support, or make use of a counterfeit appearance of her. But where she resides, she not only guards the common liberty, but

enlarges the happiness of each individual; she strengthens all ties, both natural and social; she cements families; preserves the filial and conjugal affection pure; sweetens converse with humanity; heightens acquaintance into friendship, and sets no bounds to the exercise of benevolence. The allies of a virtuous nation can steadily rely on its fidelity, and its enemies are afraid of the vengeance of a people who are lovers of justice, and are always kindled with indignation and resentment at the breach of it.

H.

L E T T E R C X I.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

I DOUBT, whether in the various states of Greece you will find one government of a more plausible frame than that I have described, or more founded in nature. For nature has laid down a plan for us in most things; and the nearer approaches we make to her, the more we advance toward perfection in our undertaking. Now the plan which nature has given us for government is a single family; which is indeed a little natural kingdom; and a kingdom of the greatest extent can be looked upon as no other than a large artificial family. And it is very easy to observe, that the ancient Persian government, in its parts and

œconomy, bore a very near resemblance to this original pattern. Perhaps you will be surpris'd that our unpolish'd ancestors, who had neither arts nor literature amongst them, and were satisfi'd with the scanty products of Persia, which scarcely afforded them food and a covering to their bodies, should have been so successful in their polity. Possibly their being uncivilized is the very reason of it; and their utter ignorance in the refinements of politics made them more attentive to nature. You know, tradition informs us, that in the early ages of the world each family was a sort of independent community; and the head of it exercised a princely jurisdiction over all the branches. We will suppose then, that a number of these small princes with paternal power are assembled together, with design to agree upon terms of community; perhaps on the summit of a hill, in token of their eminence, whilst their numerous progeny expected below the issue of their counsels. I will not take upon me to relate the debates which arose in the venerable assembly; but it is by no means difficult to find out the result of them. They perceived there was little occasion for any thing new, towards forming a community, besides the circumstance of living together. It was agreed, that the fathers of families should retain the same authority over, and concern for, the whole, which each had before in his respective family; that the younger men should continue to be active and obedient

in executing the commands of the elder, whether in peace or war; and that the education of children should now be their joint care, which hitherto had employed them separately. Their children were ready to enter into society, upon the advice of their parents; for they thought their welfare could not be more safely lodged than in such hands. The ties of obedience immediately became different. It was gratitude and filial duty (the bonds of nature) which before obliged them; but the obligations they then submitted to, were more than nature had enjoined, and therefore they rightly expected terms for their submission. The authority of the natural parent was unlimited, because his affection for his issue was imagined so likewise; but the artificial parent being more likely to deviate from justice, mutual conditions were settled, and laws obligatory on both sides. Here you see the great marks and outlines of our ancient government in a very small compass; and all subsequent and future regulations were no more than methods used for the better establishing of this form.

Though I ascribe much to the wisdom of our ancestors, I will not deny that there was another cause which greatly contributed to the peace and continuation of our empire; for the Persians, not having then corrupted the traditions they had received from a distant but unknown origin, believed that OROMASDES was a lover of peace and order through all his works, which in awe of him they industriously

cultivated and maintained. They knew that commotions and tumult were the delight of ARIMANIUS; and abhorred being the instruments of his will, who had introduced discord into paradise itself, and deformed the creation; a work of such excellency, that the Almighty did not produce it instantaneously, but in six successive parts, that the everlasting genii, the satraps of his heavenly court, might contemplate its rising beauty, and adore the Author! These religious sentiments, which dawned upon us at the coming of KEYOMAR, that ancient prophet, were more clearly opened by the divine instructions of ZERVAN, and the eternal wisdom of OUSHANG ⁶⁴, till ZURDUSHT's irresistible beams dispersed all remains of darkness ⁶⁵.

H.

⁶⁴ A book of the highest authority among the followers of the Magi.

⁶⁵ The reader will find, that in this and the other letters where the Persian religion is treated of, the sentiments are exactly agreeable to Dr. Hyde's account of it.

LETTER CXII.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER. *From Ecbatana.*

IT is natural for any one whose reputation is attacked by injurious calumnies, and whose warmth is heightened by a consciousness of innocence, to lie under a perpetual uneasiness of mind, till his honor is cleared, and his conduct justified. This makes me less surprised at those expressions of despondency and resentment, which have occurred in thy late dispatches. From the first intimation I received of the ill humor somented against thee by the artifices of some men, and the weakness of others, I used my utmost endeavours to trace it to the source; and after discovering the causes, to remove the effects of it. I found the treasurer grievously offended that thou hast made no application to him in the course of thy employment; and for that reason transmitting thy appointments with a sparing hand. His enterprising genius, which had uniformly declared itself for immediately embarking in the war, was of course opposed to the calmer and more considerate measures of MEGABYZUS and myself. As he observed thy letters afforded no grounds for his extravagant projects, he fell in the more readily with the informations of TIMOCLES, the Eubœan. Pleased with the flattering discourses of that vain rhetorician, and elated by the applause which he heard was given to his

counsels by the younger satraps and officers of the army, he procured that letter which sent thee to Thebes, whilst I was employed in settling the affairs of my deceased friend, MEGABYZUS. At the same time so certain was he of the success of his Theban alliance; or perhaps so bent on thy ruin, if it miscarried, that he proposed to remove thee from Athens, asserting there were unanswerable objections to thy behaviour there; and that TIMOCLES should be ordered to supply thy place. The king absolutely refused to consent to this alteration, and took frequent opportunities to commend thy services publicly. Soon after arrived thy letter, which gave a very clear and ingenuous relation of the state of Thebes, confirmed by the dispatches we received at the same time from CRATIPPUS. TERIBAZUS was then obliged, though with reluctance, to confess he had been mistaken in the advice which occasioned the king's letter; and, in order to cast the blame from himself, accused TIMOCLES of deceiving him, who, he said, ought to be well acquainted with those parts of Greece. The Eubœan was summoned before the council of seven; but he found means to make his escape; and it is strongly suspected, that the accusation and escape had their rise from the same quarter. Thou hast reason to be satisfied with the shame which overwhelms thy enemies, after the defeat of all their schemes; and thy credit with the king and ministry is more established by this fruitless attack, than if it had never been put to a trial. How far

I engaged in your support, I leave others to inform you; but it would be injustice to the generous friendship of HYDASPES and INTAPHERNES, not to assure you, that, had their own honor or safety been concerned, they could not have exerted themselves with more zeal and assiduity than they did. The king himself told me, when I obtained his leave for your Delphic journey, that no disgust of any of his ministers should lessen his regard for your merit; that the punctual payment of your appointments should be his particular care: "and (continued our gracious master) I do not wonder this Theban business has given CLEANDER uneasiness. I too easily believed what carried a specious appearance; but though my servants have sometimes deceived me, they never yet had the art to make me persist in my error, in order to screen their own."

APOLLONIDES, the physician, was condemned to the cross, and executed just before we left Susa. Thou knowest that his crime, for the sake of the person concerned, must be lightly touched. ZOPYRUS, the youngest son of MEGABYZUS, has left the court by night; and it is not yet known whither he is gone. He desired to be made governor of Damascus; which being refused him, on account of his youth and inexperience, though with a promise of future favor, he said with great warmth, that this disappointment, and his mother's guilt, rendered it impossible for him to appear at court with honor.

OXYATHRES, the Mede, after having been obliged to leave Scythia by the king who at present sits upon that throne, as I gave thee an account in my dispatches last year ⁶⁶, has since wandered in disguise through the provinces; and though we had frequent traces of him, he made so short a stay in every place he came to, and took such precautions to conceal himself, that we could never lay hold of his person till very lately, when he was seized in passing through the Upper Ægypt by PHARNACES, the governor of Thebes. From several informations which I have received concerning him, there are grounds to believe that he was going to join AMYRTEUS in the fens, and was projecting great designs of bringing the Lybians a second time into Ægypt. He found means to destroy what papers he had about him, before he was secured; but very large sums of money were seized in his baggage, which were distributed amongst those who were instrumental in apprehending him.

Soon after he was taken, he wrote a letter to the king, offering, if his life might be spared to make an exact and sincere discovery of all the practices in which he had been engaged, and of the persons with whom he had corresponded; accompanied with strong expressions of remorse for his past conduct, and assurances of an inviolable fidelity for the future. The king was pleased to refer the whole affair to

⁶⁶ Vide Letter xcv.

his council of seven, and to be present himself when it was debated ; as indeed it was very fully.

We considered that OXYATHRES had been manifestly concerned in two designs of a very high and dangerous nature. The guilt of the first, indeed, consisted chiefly in holding licentious and seditious discourses; but in case any sinister event had happened to the empire, or the king, there is no question but a formed conspiracy had broken out.

The second was nothing less than promoting the revolt of ARIAZUS, and the junction of the Scythian forces with his.

There were likewise strong reasons to suspect, that his views, at the time of his being seized, were full as pernicious and disloyal as ever. And it was very remarkable, that, during this long course of treasonable practices, he had never once made application for pardon, or showed the least desire of returning to his duty, till the moment that his life was in the power of a justly exasperated monarch.

As to the discoveries, which he was in a capacity of making, it was our opinion, that we knew enough of his intrigues already for any advantage that could redound to the king and his government, by the prevention or defeat of them; and the being acquainted with the minuter circumstances, and the names of more persons who had engaged in such criminal designs, might tend to open a scene which the tranquillity of the empire would require, and the humane disposition of ARTAXERXES.

would rather chuse not to be disclosed. For these reasons we concluded, almost unanimously, that he was no fit object of the royal favor; and accordingly orders for putting him to death were sent to PHARNACES with such dispatch and secrecy, that the advice of his being executed reached this place almost before his condemnation was known, and at once put an end to all those cabals and intercessions which were forming by his relations (who are of the first quality in the province of Media) to save him.

I have it in charge to communicate to thee the result of a council held this night in ARTAXERXES's apartments. It was resolved unanimously, that, considering the events of war that may oblige the king to take part very soon in the Grecian quarrels, orders should be sent to the governors of Asia Minor to keep in readiness against next year a body of sixty thousand men, to march at the first warning; and likewise to the prefects of Phœnicia and Cyprus, to fit out a fleet of eighty galleys, with a proportionable number of seamen. We doubt not but the news of those preparations will strike the Greeks with astonishment; but they are solely intended to put our empire in a condition of taking such a part in the affairs of its neighbours, as may be suitable to its wealth and greatness. Farewel.

P.

LETTER CXIII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

HERODOTUS put into my hands the other day, a very extraordinary and remarkable piece of history, that the priests of Memphis had given him among the memoirs which they had selected for his use out of their archives. The character of HAZIA affords an example of many excellencies, which even the Athenian ladies might copy with great advantage to their conduct.

The STORY of HAZIA.

SESOSTRIS, willing to show his subjects how far he had extended his conquests, brought with him into Ægypt numerous families of the East, instructed in the righteous doctrines of KEYOMAR. Amongst these was the house of BESACH, beloved for his justice and strict piety, and in the esteem of men most worthy the protection of Heaven. But he was not exempt from the common calamity; he was led away captive with his family, which he had the mortification, before he reached Memphis, to see reduced to his daughter, HAZIA, who was too young to be affected with her misfortunes, and himself, whose wisdom and experience taught him to submit to them. His two sons, who were in the vigor of youth, and

and had been trained up to virtue and courage, had not yet learned how to suffer; and partly through impatience of the restraints they were under in their journey, and grief at the prospect of slavery, fell into violent disorders, which might have admitted a remedy, but they refused to accept it; alledging in excuse for themselves, that they did not make a cowardly revolt from the station in which Providence had placed them, but retired at its call to the seats of bliss, from a life altogether dishonorable to themselves, and unprofitable to the world. BESACH, upon his arrival at Memphis, found that his reputation amongst his countrymen had stood him in some stead; as he was placed above the ordinary rank of slaves, and employed about the king's household. The death of his sons, however, hung heavy upon his mind; and the consolation he found in his surviving daughter, was much allayed by paternal anxiety for her welfare. He thought honorably of his family, and wished her an education suitable to it; but he despaired of that, at a time when he with much difficulty procured her the necessaries of life. He resolved, however, not to be wanting in that material part which himself could supply; he early implanted in her bosom such maxims as would be most serviceable when she came to consider her condition; the seeds of humility, courage, and chastity. The forming of her mind was his peculiar care; nor did he neglect instructing her how to express it with propriety and grace. He did not pretend to contribute

the ornamental parts of a female address; nor was he solicitous whether she attained them or not, since without them she was less exposed to observation. Nevertheless, the growing virtues he had stored her bosom with, insensibly affected her whole carriage, and gave a polish, beyond the power of art, to her person; for a graceful mien is the natural result of a cultivated mind; and where that is wanting, the refinements of a court are only specious, and want their proper foundation; they are artfully put on to represent such qualities of the mind as are not to be found in it. HAZIA had a look of great modesty, which is so amiable in the sex, and no wonder, since she had been trained up to that virtue. She had an engaging simplicity in her countenance; for she had been taught no artifice. Her conversation was pleasing, because it flowed from humanity and reason. Her gesture and aspect were easy and becoming, because nature had not been wanting to her, and she had been careful not to deviate from it. Had she been introduced into an assembly of the highest Egyptian ladies, her behaviour would have given no offence; and had the assembly been formed of ladies from different courts, though she would have differed something from all, it is probable her carriage, which was mostly the result of nature and virtue, would have bid fairest for their common imitation.

The foresight of BESACH, her father, and her own retired life, had not concealed her from the notice of MENERH, a young gallant

at court, who waited an opportunity of doing a service to HARAN, the minifier, that he might have some pretence of begging so small a boon as one of the slaves of SESOSTRIS. BESACH, knowing the defenceless situation of his beauteous ward, was continually on the watch, and not a little troubled to find, that young MENETH divided all his time betwixt those walks which HAZIA frequented, and an assiduous attendance upon HARAN. His fears were too great not to affect the composure of his mind. HAZIA perceived a surprising change, without suspecting any additional ground for it; and would frequently retort his own precepts upon him. "Father, (she would say,) you have taught me that misfortunes are the best school; that to repine is to upbraid Heaven; that the necessities of life are few, and every thing else may be supplied by cheerfulness and content. How is it that you retract your doctrines, and make me suspect their reality? Will you show me so ill an example, as to yield to your sufferings; and deprive me not only of your life, (to which your cares will soon put an end,) but even of the pattern and principles, which I have only to rely upon, if Providence should make me an orphan as well as a slave?" BESACH was affected beyond expression with such discourse, and dissembled his concern as well as he could; and whenever he perceived his gloomy thoughts were likely to get the better of him, he always retired from her company. He seldom could compose himself

to rest till it was late; and frequently spent the time of sleep in uneasy reflections and broken soliloquies, wandering about the porticos and private walks of the palace, and at his return pretended he had been employed in some service by the officers of the court. His melancholy apprehensions had taken possession of him one evening, when he sat down under a low dark arch, (which led to the apartments of the slaves,) ruminating on the miseries of his country, particularly of his own family, and the dishonor which seemed pointed at his daughter; when unexpectedly he saw a man glide across the court, and make directly towards the king's apartment. At first he thought it was only a creature of his own melancholy imagination, because he knew every body within the bounds of the court was at rest at that hour, except the guards, who durst not, without some good reason, move from their posts. He indulged his curiosity so far, however, as to step gently after him, and soon found he was not deceived; he was near enough to perceive the man lay a poniard down at his feet, and with great facility loosen the bars of a window, with an instrument he had brought with him for that purpose. BESACH apprehended nothing less than a desperate assassination of the king: whereupon he drew toward him with the utmost caution, and, under favor of the shade, and the man's eager attention to his design, he got near enough to snatch up the poniard, and presenting it to his breast, " Villain,

“ (said he,) I will not suffer a great prince to
“ fall by the hands of an assassin.” The man
fell trembling at his feet, and was going to
beg for mercy, when the guards, who heard
the outcry of BESACH, flew towards them in
an instant. BESACH delivered him into their
hands, and returned home to his daughter,
fully purged of his melancholy by this lucky
accident; and with the greatest cheerfulness,
“ HAZIA, (says he,) I hope you are now out
“ of the reach of a danger which I durst not
“ so much as acquaint you with yesterday.
“ That courtier whom you observed in your
“ walk, and about our lodging, thinks you not
“ without beauty, and intends to ask HARAN
“ to oblige him with so small a favor as one
“ of the king’s slaves.” She was going to de-
clare how much more eligible death was, than
such a stain, to her virtuous family, when her
father assured her, that by to-morrow she would
not be in the disposal of HARAN himself, if
SESOSTRIS was not the most ungrateful of all
princes. Upon which he acquainted her with
the happy turn that his affairs were likely to
take, which gave them both a most agreeable
expectation of the event.

The next day, upon examination, it ap-
peared that the assassin had been hired to this
desperate undertaking by the remains of that
party who opposed SESOSTRIS at his return into
Ægypt, and had set the crown upon his bro-
ther’s head. So he expired in torments, agree-
ably to the laws of Ægypt; and when his body
was brought to the banks of the Nile to be

transported for burial, the inquisitors into his life judged him unworthy of a place of rest, and left his corpse to be tossed by the waves, and exposed to devouring fishes. SESOSTRIS was acquainted with BESACH's fidelity, and ordered HARAN to reward him, as one who had saved the life of his prince. He and his family were immediately declared free, and a small employment of some credit in the household was conferred on him. BESACH was well pleased with the security which freedom brought along with it; and his moderation was satisfied with an access of fortune which raised him considerably above want, though not to that condition to which his services might reasonably lay claim: for HARAN did not think proper to reward an action very liberally, the merit of which he intended chiefly to transfer upon himself. He greatly magnified his own vigilance and activity; he assured the king he had discovered the whole conspiracy; and he put many of the nobles to death, upon slight suspicions, or private resentment. He pretended to have secured the throne to SESOSTRIS, by cutting off all possibility of a future revolt, and conducted the whole with such a zeal for his service, at a time when there was some appearance of danger, that the king thought he could not sufficiently recompense him. He made open professions of his high esteem for him, and said, "the enemies of HARAN were rebels to his crown; and his subjects could not better show their loyalty, than by reverencing the man to whom he was indebted

"for his kingdom." Such declarations struck the court with terror, who knew the warmth of the king's temper, and increased the natural haughtiness of HARAN: he thought himself little less than divine, and the subjects of SESOSTRIS approached him with as much awe, as a guilty mortal does the altar of the God whom he fears to have offended.

BESACH could not but observe to what an height HARAN had raised himself, upon the reputation of a service in which himself had the greatest share; but he showed not the least disgust; he paid a reverence to his superior station without flattery, which he could not practise, though he had been a slave. However, as this carriage was not so full of obeisance as HARAN expected, he seldom came into his presence. He wanted not to enlarge his fortune; and he thought himself secure in the good will of the king. But it was not long before he had reason to know, that having merit toward a prince is not a sufficient guard against those who have free access to him. HARAN was easily induced to believe that he had not BESACH's affections, because he knew he did not deserve them; and was confirmed in this opinion by the neglect which he thought he saw in his behaviour. He had therefore been some time determined upon his ruin. How to effect this was some difficulty: disloyalty was a handle he wished for; but all suspicions of that kind would appear groundless, when charged upon BESACH. He laid out several contrivances in his mind to that purpose,

and opened himself one day on that subject to MENETH, whose inclination for BESACH's daughter was now no secret to him. MENETH immediately suggested a method to him, which gained his approbation at once; for though it was exceedingly cruel, it was well disguised. "Those people (said he) whom the king brought from the East, have, some of them, gained their liberty, and though they enjoy the privileges of Ægyptians, they repine at the servitude of the rest: they are altogether disaffected, and wait for some change to their advantage. They are continually instilling difficulties into the people concerning religion, in which they differ widely from the natives. They desire nothing more than the extirpation of our ancient rites, and the venerable worship of our ancestors. If you would acquaint the king of the danger to be apprehended from such a party, he would give up the lives of so many for the peace of his kingdoms; and your enemy would fall amongst the rest, without being supposed to be particularly aimed at." The bloodiness of this project was no obstacle to HARAN's thirst of revenge; he applauds it highly, and goes immediately, to the king. "O SESOSTRIS, (says he,) the gods have given you an empire without bounds; may the days of your life be without number! Your throne is now secured against its most dangerous enemies; the leaders in the late faction are entirely taken off; and I much wondered at the folly of

“ their attempt, and could not easily conceive
“ what numbers they would raise to seize on
“ your throne, or attempt any thing great,
“ since their depriving you of life (which was
“ their first aim) would only have roused your
“ subjects to vengeance, instead of strengthening
“ their party. But I have since discovered,
“ that their chief confidence was in the discontent
“ of those slaves whom you have
“ brought from the East. They are very numerous;
“ and though at present low, and by no means dangerous,
“ yet may not be so easily dealt with, if an experienced leader were
“ at their head. The security of the crown
“ is my sole interest, and the spring of my
“ ambition. I am alarmed at the distant approaches
“ of danger, and would even have the possibility
“ of it anticipated.” The king’s answer was short and determinate,
“ that he confided in him for the suppression of those
“ rebels.

This was sufficient authority for HARAN; he formed a decree under the royal name, with accusations highly aggravated against that miserable people, who were to be put to death wherever they were found through the kingdom; and the magistrates were strictly charged with the execution. He immediately communicated this to his confidant; “ And now,
“ MENETH, (says he,) success depends solely
“ on ourselves; and the first step toward it is
“ to secure BESACH in some safe place, lest
“ he apply to the king, or by any means escape
“ the general massacre.” MENETH was glad to

remove such an obstacle to his vicious inclinations, and undertook the performance of that part. " I know (says he) his constant walk " is northward of the city: he shall be seized " this very evening by faithful hands, and conveyed down the river to that old castle which " stands where the Nile divides itself." The proposal was well received, and he went immediately to command the execution of it. MENETH was in much anxiety for the event, till towards midnight, when one of the villains whom he had employed returned to inform him, that every thing was conducted with secrecy, and that BESACH was under a guard in the castle. He no sooner heard this, than he went to BESACH's house, and almost forcing an admission to his daughter; " HAZIA, (said " he with a dejected air,) it is necessity, and " your extreme danger only, that could make " me break in upon your retirement at so late " an hour. You must have heard that the " court entertains some jealousy of your nation; " and at the hazard of my life I will venture " to inform you, that it will not be appeased " without shedding of blood. BESACH, your " father, is apprehensive of it, and is fled, " flattering himself that your weak sex would " be your protection; but I myself saw the " decree, which enjoins a general slaughter " without any exemption. The hazard I run " in this discovery ought to merit your confidence, which, if you please to repose in " me, it may be your preservation. I can " lodge you near the king's apartment till the

“ execution be over, with the greatest privacy
“ and security to your life and honor; and
“ will afterward procure your pardon, or the
“ means of escape.” HAZIA trembled at this
account; she knew not what part to suspect;
and her father’s not returning seemed to be a
confirmation of it. She wept bitterly at the
apprehension of such a slaughter of innocent
people, to whom she was allied; besides the
uncertainty of her own and her father’s safety.
She had no inclination to put herself into the
hands of MENETH; but there was little room
for deliberation, when she had no other pro-
tection at hand: she accepted, therefore, the
offer of being lodged near the royal apartment,
which seemed to presage nothing dishonorable.
She was not disappointed to find that he made
her frequent visits there, and teased her with
a passion to which she was little disposed to
attend. However, she bore it with indifference
at first, because she knew the palace was her
sanctuary, and the guards, posted at convenient
distance, might easily be alarmed. But when
MENETH magnified her obligations to him, and
talked to her as one indebted to him for her
life, she could not bear to be upbraided with
a favor for which she could make no return.
Her condition grew exceedingly irksome; and,
at the peril of her life, she resolved upon an
expedient to alter it. There was a spacious
gallery adjoining, adorned with the statues and
effigies of ancient kings and lawgivers, and
furnished with inestimable volumes of priests

and poets, the improvers of human society. Here SESOSTRIS spent several hours every day, ruminating upon the duties of a prince and the arts of government; and while he was thus engaged, HAZIA had the boldness to break in upon his retirement and throwing herself prostrate, in the utmost confusion, and with some extravagance of gesture, "O king, (said she,) "famed for your greatness of soul more than "conquest, do not stain your glory by destroying the life of a helpless virgin! I am the "daughter of BESACH, who ask mercy of "SESOSTRIS. Do not shed the blood of him "whose fidelity preserved you from the hand "of a vile assassin." The king was disturbed at her appearance, and said, "Lady, your "mind is disordered; your own melancholy "creates your distress. BESACH and his family "are ever entitled to my favor." He immediately withdrew, and ordered that BESACH should give an account of this interruption. HARAN was greatly alarmed at the news of this incident, and going instantly to the king, took the advantage of his opinion, that HAZIA was distracted, and told him, she was put under proper care till her father's return, who was said to be abroad. The king was tolerably well pacified with this account. A report that SESOSTRIS had made inquiry after BESACH, had now reached the ear of those who had him in custody; which so terrified them, that they fled with great precipitation, and left him to his own disposal; which he no sooner

observed, than he seized the opportunity, and returned to Memphis, where all occurrences during his short absence soon came to his knowledge. He repaired immediately to the king, and assured him, that the interruption of his sacred retirement from his daughter, was the effect of her well-grounded fears; that she had reason to apprehend the worst of ills from the undeserved malice of his enemies; that himself had just been released from prison, where he had suffered great hardships, and expected death, without knowing for what crime, or by whose order. "Nor do I expect to prolong life by this escape, (added he) your royal decree, which pronounces all your eastern captives rebels, and destines them to destruction, includes me in that number; and I willingly submit to suffer with my countrymen, or rather would suffer for them, since I have too much reason to believe myself particularly aimed at, and the sole cause of their calamity."

SESOSTRIS till now was ignorant of BESACH's relation to that people. Upon this information, his face glowed like fire; his indignation showed itself in all his gestures; his eyes shot forth beams like those malignant stars that threaten the world with desolation. He perceived, that he had been abused by his favorite; he saw plainly the malice of HARAN; and his abhorrence of him was raised in proportion to the abuse of his confidence. He ordered him to spend the remainder of his

life in that miserable state from which BESACH had escaped. He soon found how indifferently his preserver BESACH had been recompensed for his service; and to make him satisfaction, assured him, that the highest honors and wealth of Memphis were open to him. But BESACH's moderation would not be prevailed upon to accept of any thing, but a small territory near Thebes for his captive countrymen⁶⁷; which their posterity now enjoy, and live separate from the natives of Ægypt in the worship of the true God. The historians add, that SESOTRIS was so captivated with the beauty and virtues of HAZIA, that he raised her to the throne of Ægypt; and that the blood of that eastern lady flowed in the veins of the Ægyptian kings through many successions⁶⁸.

H.

⁶⁷ See Letter xlvii.

⁶⁸ The intelligent reader cannot but observe a great resemblance between this story and that of *Ester*.

LETTER CXIV.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES. *From Delphi.*

I CONTINUED at Thebes till a letter from the chief scribe gave me full information of the cause, as well as defeat, of my enemies designs. The testimony of my royal master in my favor, and the fortunate effects of that generous protection which INTAPHERNES and thyself afforded to an old dependant in the time of his distress, have restored me to my former spirits and tranquillity.

I set out immediately on my Delphic expedition, accompanied by PROCLES an Athenian, and ARCHIAS a Theban, an old man of remarkable piety and simplicity of manners. The former is, like myself, induced to take this journey merely through motives of pleasure and curiosity. His agreeable turn of conversation, and equal vein of good humor, render him the best travelling companion I ever met with. The latter goes to consult the oracle on domestic concerns, and by his acquaintance in those parts of Greece, secured to us a favorable reception at the houses of our hosts on the road. After crossing the river Cephissus, we entered Phocis; and, as we approached Delphi, passed the celebrated valley where LAIUS was killed by his son OEDIPUS. It lies on a descent, and is so narrow as scarcely to afford room for a single

man or horse. The sepulchre of the Theban king, and a domestic who was murdered with him, are erected in a rustic manner with piles of stones on one side of the road. The city of Delphi stands on the southern declivity of Mount Parnassus, which, by an old tradition, is said to be situated in the middle of the earth. It is surrounded with precipices, which form at a distance a perspective rough and wild, but romantic and agreeable; so that the place, not content with the sanctity and reverential awe inspired by the shrine of its god, has all the advantages of natural strength to defend it from sacrilegious violence. Our first visit was to THEAGENES, a priest of the temple, to whom PROCLES and myself were introduced by ARCHIAS. His house will be our lodging whilst we stay here; and, without any disrespect to the curiosities of the place, his conversation is my chief entertainment. He has the care of the sacred records, which he has brought from a state of confusion into excellent order. His learning is extensive, but solid: rendered useful by the readiness with which he communicates it, and amiable by the singular candor and modesty which accompany it. He speaks of his religion in such a manner as to support the dignity of his profession, yet without offending those who claim a right to think and talk of it more freely. In the morning one of the Periegetai, whose profession is to show the antiquities of the place, made us an offer of his service, which they do to all strangers immediately after their arrival. We began
with

with taking a general survey of the city, which is divided into three parts; the upper town, the middle one, where the temple stands, and the lower town. The city in general is but indifferently built; the streets are narrow and irregular, many of them winding round the craggy paths of the mountain. If being employed in sacred offices contributes towards rendering a people virtuous, those of Delphi are eminently so, since the service of the temple finds business for the greatest part of the inhabitants; and no small profits arise to them from the vast concourse of strangers, who come from all parts to consult the oracle. Our guide afterwards led us to a theatre, and the portico called Lesche, where are three pictures of POLYGNOTUS, dedicated to APOLLO by the Cnidiens. The subject of one is the taking of Troy; of another, the embarkation of the Greeks for their return; of the third, the descent of ULYSSES into hell, as described in the *Odyssy* of HOMER. The second of these pictures alone contains above one hundred figures, whose names are marked at the feet of each; which useful invention greatly assists the spectators to understand the design of the painter. We staid so long to admire the variety of countenances, habits, and attitudes, expressed with that truth of design and force of coloring peculiar to the works of POLYGNOTUS, that the evening insensibly wore upon us. We returned to THEAGENES to supper, and deferred our visit to the temple till next day.

This magnificent edifice was built in the fifty-eighth Olympiad, (after the first temple had been burnt,) at the common charge of all Greece, under the direction of SPINTHARUS of Corinth, who engaged to finish it for three hundred talents. Such was the veneration paid to the deity its protector, that foreign states, as well as private persons, contributed towards carrying on the work; particularly AMASIS king of Ægypt, and the Alcmeonidæ, a noble Athenian family, who were banished their native country by PISISTRATUS, and came to settle at Delphi. The front is of Parian marble; the rest of the edifice is built with a hard white stone called Porus. The pediment of the principal front is ornamented with sculptures, representing Latona, Apollo, Diana, and the nine Muses. In the pediment of the western front, are Bacchus and the Menades. These sculptures were begun by PRAXIAS an Athenian, and after his death finished by another Athenian named ANDROSTHENES. As we entered the porch, we took notice of the sentences of the seven Grecian wise men, "Know thyself, &c." left there by each of those philosophers, in their hand-writing, when they visited the temple. In the same place is a brazen statue of HOMER; in the pedestal is inscribed an oracle, bidding him beware of an enigma, which, according to an old, but perhaps fabulous, tradition, was the occasion of his death, through vexation that he could not interpret it. The columns within are hung round with the arms and ensigns taken

at Salamis and Plataea. It was, thou mayest imagine, my noble friend, the most disagreeable circumstance in taking a survey of the temple, to see so many eternal monuments of the Grecian victories over us consecrated solemnly to the deity of the place, and descending to posterity, as indelible marks of their triumphs and our disgrace. I beheld with concern the statues of MILTIADES, and the ancient heroes of Attica, CECROPS and PANDION, carved by PHIDIAS out of the booty taken at Marathon. When I went on further, and our guide, in pompous language, pointed to the palm-tree of bronze, and the gilt MINERVA, sent hither after CIMON's successes, it was with difficulty that I repressed my sighs, and checked my just warmth. But I saw with secret pleasure the trophies set up by the states of Greece for their conquests over each other, which in some degree obliterate the memory of these losses, or at least render them more supportable. There is a chapel just finished out of the riches gained by the Athenians in the present war. Beaks of ships, brazen bucklers, and arms stained with blood, are hung round the sides; and an inscription on a marble tablet commemorates the battle of Naupactus⁶⁹, and the praises of PHORMIO, the Athenian admiral, with a recital of the names of the vanquished cities, Corinth, Sparta, and Megara.

The temple is in all parts embellished with innumerable presents of commonwealths,

⁶⁹ Letter xlvii.

princes, and private persons, which I should tire thee to describe particularly. Deluded men! as if even the protection of their own gods, supposing them real, could be obtained by the ambitious, the deceitful, or the covetous, for a silver vase, or an embroidered robe; or as if the pious, the humane, and the just, stood in need of such corrupt recommendations. CROESUS, king of Lydia, was, during his reign, the most generous adorer of the Delphic god; they showed a golden lion, several sacrificing utensils finely embossed, and bracelets set with jewels, amounting, as they told us, to the value of two hundred and fifty-four talents, which he sent hither at different times. There can be no stronger example than his of the fatal effects of misguided piety. The priests, not contented with amusing that unfortunate prince by dark and mysterious answers, hurried him on, by one fatally ambiguous, to the imprudent step of passing the river Halys to attack our great CYRUS, which cost him his kingdom. It was with good reasons, that after his captivity he sent to reproach the god with having ungratefully deceived a monarch who was his greatest benefactor. Thou wilt not wonder that the riches of the place have often exposed it to hostile fury. Not to enlarge upon the attempts of DANAUS and PYRRHUS in old times, suffice it to say, that the temple was pillaged by the Crisseans in the forty-fourth Olympiad; and that the unsuccessful attack made by a detachment of XERXES's army was

attended with too remarkable circumstances to be soon forgot.

By the particular favor of THEAGENES, we were admitted to take a short view of the sanctuary. The chasm in the earth, from which APOLLO reveals his prophetic dictates, is always covered with a tripod, a kind of hollow table with three feet, on which the Pythia is placed in a posture the most convenient to receive the inspiring vapor. A curtain made of a skin, which they call the hide of the monster Python, conceals the holy virgin from prophane eyes.

As we went out of the temple, we observed a venerable old man, who looked like one of the inferior priests, employed with particular gravity in admonishing some birds to retire, who had perched themselves upon the columns and statues at the entrance. He told them, that he should be extremely concerned to be instrumental in the death of animals, whose various flights foretold to mankind the unerring will of the immortal gods. The birds seemed to take no notice of this pathetic harangue, and continued their chirping; upon which the old priest, with great indignation, took up a bow and arrows that lay by him, and exerted his skill in archery so effectually, as soon to disperse these prophane molesters of the temple. My friend PROCLES and myself, who with no small difficulty had preserved our gravity at the ridiculous stories of our conductor, could not, upon this occasion, help asking him, with a smile, the office of this

LETTER CXV.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

THOU wilt be surpris'd to hear, that ORSAMES, whom thou supposest still engaged in the mysterious learning and stupendous works of Ægypt; or whom perhaps thou flatterest thyself to be preparing for a visit to thee, in order to crown his observations with the more humane studies and finished arts of Greece; that the contemplative, the inquisitive ORSAMES has put an end to his curious voyage, and is returned to Susa. Such was the will of the wise ARTÆUS, whose commands our young friend has always been accustomed to obey, from a readiness arising not only from a principle of duty, but from a constant experience of their being the kindest, as well as the most reasonable. Accordingly he flew back to court with such speed, as if he had known that the most accomplished princess there, and the greatest succession in the empire, waited his arrival.

The friendship which has long subsisted between the families of ARTÆUS and SISAMNES, gave ORSAMES frequent opportunities of seeing the beautiful PARMYS before he went upon his travels. He saw and admired her; but intent on the pursuit of science, he formed no other than the distant hope of qualifying himself one day to deserve her. SISAMNES,

in the mean time, descended from a long line of Hyrcanian satraps, which, by the loss of two noble sons, he saw ready to end in himself, turned all his views upon his beloved PARMYS; and was looking round, among the great families of Persia, for a youth to adopt into his own, and make happy in his daughter. Nor could he long be in suspense; the heir of ARTÆUS soon fixed his choice. Educated under a father whose virtues have placed him at the head of the supreme tribunal, and whose eloquence prevails in the council of the great king, as thou tellest us that of PERICLES did in the Athenian assembly, ORSAMES steadily kept his eye, not on the dazzling honors which are to descend to him, but on the glorious methods by which they were acquired; and while he attended only to the improvement of his mind by the conversation of the wife, was not conscious that he was observed and admired by the great. But as soon as ever this alliance was known, the public had but one voice about it; and the universal approbation it meets with, is a testimony to virtue and good sense worthy of a less degenerate age. The mighty ARTAXERXES has indeed led the way, by breaking through that frugality in bestowing honors, which, thou knowest, he so wisely observes, and continuing the dignities of SISAMNES to his son-in-law.

It was the day before the marriage, that, accompanied by the polite Mage TEASPES, (whom the good taste of ORSAMES had distinguished early among the sages in the Bactrian

schools,) I found him not at all elated at this near prospect of greatness, but engaged, as usual, in those studies which form the patriot and the statesman. The archives of the empire lay open before him; he proposed several questions with that ingenuous vehemence which so well becomes him; nor would he suffer us to leave him, without one of those friendly debates which I have often described to thee among the chief pleasures of my Bactrian retirement.

Let us not imagine, my dear CLEANDER, that a young man, who comes into the world with such dispositions, comes into it too early. It might be a fatal experiment in most great families; but how few at his age have lived and thought like him? We should rather esteem it a peculiar felicity, that he is at once carried over that dangerous term of life, wherein such numbers of our noble youth lose all the fruits of their education, and receive a taint which affects their whole future conduct. It is surely very unaccountable, that a course of luxury and riot should be held a necessary preparation to a life of virtue and honor; and the instructions and company of philosophers be considered as an impediment to our knowledge of the world. But ORSAMES will be a striking instance of the absurdity of these maxims. Nor need his learned friends apprehend that the man of letters will be lost in the man of the world. Instead of abandoning the arts he loved, he will show how much they adorn the highest stations; nor will his increasing

acquaintance among the great drive from his heart the companions of his studies. He will not be the less their friend, because he is in a situation to be their patron.

May the power which watches over the fate of the empire inspire our rising generation with an emulation of these virtues! So shall the honor of the Persian discipline be restored; and we shall be able to oppose an equal band of heroes to those shining genii among the Greeks, who make thee tremble sometimes for the throne of Asia.

W.

LETTER CXVI.

CRATIPPUS to CLEANDER *From Sparta.*

WHEN we were at Thebes together, my CLEANDER, our conversation turned very much on the states of Greece, and thou wert particularly inquisitive after the policy and manners of Lacedæmon. I related to thee at that time some observations I had made, and promised to send them, on my return to Sparta, more accurately drawn up in writing. It is indeed an unhappy circumstance, that thou art prevented from visiting this seat of military virtue and unadulterated good sense, as well by the laws of the republic, as by that jealous and inhospitable temper which is the offspring of civil war. I parted from thee with uncommon

reluctance, as I knew that the discovery of one of my letters ⁷⁰ last year in Athens, had reduced us from an open, cheerful, and improving conversation, to a dry, timorous, and reserved correspondence. I shall write to thee indeed at present with more freedom, not only because the city where thou now residest enters not into the feuds and politics of Greece, but because the subject, on which thou desirest to be enlightened, requires an explicit perspicuity. Whilst thou informest thyself of the most curious circumstances attending the most celebrated oracle in the world, let me entertain thee with the institutions and commonwealth of that lawgiver, whom the same oracle pronounced a god. So great was either the reputation of LYCURGUS to command this testimony, or so great his art in procuring it.

The country of Laconia has often changed its name and its possessors. It was called Lelegia, from king LELEX; Oebalia, from OEBAIUS, the father of CASTOR and POLLUX, (whose amicable and united government produced the known fable concerning them,) and obtained the appellation it now has from king LACEDÆMON. It was held first by the Achæans, with PELOPS at their head; next by the Sparti, who were governed by CADMUS; then by the descendants of the Argonauts; and lastly by the race of HERCULES, from whom the inhabitants of our days are derived. There is something, methinks, ridiculous enough in the tedious

⁷⁰ See Letter xci.

and grave histories recorded of these men. Doubtless the craggy territory of Laconia fared like other parts of Greece, when wild and uncultivated. During the early ages, the lands that lay near the sea-coasts were an harbour for pirates, who put themselves under the guidance of a general or petty prince, and plundered the more fruitful, and consequently the more inhabited, parts of the earth, with the greater resolution, as they imagined no man would pursue them to the barren rocks that protected them. Such were the Achæi and Heraclidæ, the first lords of the soil, and boasted ancestors of so polished a posterity; savage robbers in their original, improved by foreign colonies, and civilized by a strange concurrence of whimsical events.

The city of Sparta (they say) owes its rise to king LACEDÆMON. It is of a round figure, without walls or a citadel. The houses are built with singular simplicity; for the only tools allowed by law for building, are an axe and a hand-saw. The Euratos runs along the east side of the plain in which it is situated, and often lays waste the country by its inundations. It is surrounded by hills, on one side rough and inaccessible; on the other, varied by cascades and torrents, which fall into the river, that winds impetuously through the valley. The very manner of the place is suited to the hardy temper of the people.

No republic has been more various in its form than this. At first it was a monarchy, and continued in that state till PROGES and

EURYSTHENES, the sons of ARISTODEMUS. They ruled it jointly, and from them two kings are entailed for ever on Lacedæmon. All laws were made and cancelled at their will; all magistrates were created at their pleasure, and accountable to them. Things went on smoothly in the same channel for many years, when EURYTION, through a weakness of understanding, or a mean affectation of popularity, lessened his own power, and made room for the efforts of sedition. The kings were afterwards desirous to remedy the confusion arising from the folly or vanity of their predecessor, and attempted to resume their former authority. But the people contended for their imaginary rights with such violence, that in a riot they killed one of their princes, the father of LYCURGUS. Nothing was able now to restrain their fury; they insisted on a chimerical equality of ranks, and overthrew the distinctions and necessary subordinations of society. Every man who had the least knowledge of the laws, invented subtleties to evade them, pretended to interpret them, and would have imposed his private sense for the public opinion. In this captious disposition, the slightest offence from the magistrate confirmed the absurdity, increased the obstinacy, and raised the insolence of an exasperated multitude. LYCURGUS alone ventured to oppose the torrent with equal spirit and abilities; nor did the loss of an eye affect him, which in a warm debate was struck out by the factious ALCANDER. He began with concerting a scheme among his friends for a

thorough reformation; then formed a council of thirty among the principal citizens, and stationed a guard of soldiers in the forum, to prevent an insurrection; rightly judging, that a violent disease required as violent a remedy. When this was done, and the commonwealth had given him a power of new-modelling the constitution, he established a senate with the kings at their head, and gave laws to the people, which, without being committed to writing, he has contrived to engrave on their hearts by the rigor of education. They are recorded no where, except in the verses of TERPANDER, who has reduced them into the measures of poetry. Their number is not large; for, as CHARILAUS very smartly said, "They who use few words can want but few laws." Fortitude and a contempt of pleasure are principally inculcated there. Every citizen is obliged strictly to conform to them; for which reason PAUSANIAS thought Sparta answered the truest notion of a free government, when he pronounced "it to be the empire of laws, and not of men." As LYCURGUS had travelled into all parts of the world, he had great opportunities of comparing the practice of different legislators. He examined the different institutions of MINOS in Crete, went into Spain and Africa, and even conversed with the Gymnosophists in India. From Ægypt he took the hint of making the soldiers a distinct body from those who were occupied in the labors of the tillage; and after he had compounded the best system which the wisdom of others or his own could invent,

he forbade the laws of all states, that differed from Lacedæmon, to be commended, or even mentioned in Sparta. It is owing to the same caution, that no citizen is suffered to travel into foreign parts. On being asked by somebody, why he gave an aristocratical, not a popular turn to the constitution, he bade him "go and try the experiment at home." The question was a very odd one, in a city that had suffered so much from the fury of the people. LYCURGUS died at Delphi by voluntarily abstaining from food, because he had solemnly obliged his countrymen with an oath to obey his laws till his return; a thing which he never intended. Satisfied that he had lived sufficiently for his country, he chose to leave the world, when he was old, with an intrepidity agreeable to his stern character; and thought it unbecoming a great man to die timorously and weakly, or to outlive his memory and parts in indolence. His citizens pay him divine honors in a temple they have built to him, not so much out of regard to the sense of the oracle, as to the dictates of their own grateful hearts.

While he was in Ionia, he recovered HOMER's poems from the descendants of CREOPHILUS, and published them in Greece. In Crete too he put himself under the care of THALES, a writer of Lyric odes, and was instructed by him. It appears that he had some taste for polite literature, though he has carefully extinguished the love of it in his commonwealth; for it is remarkable, that their dialect is so

uncouth, and the people are taught by the law to be so sparing of words, that no man in Lacedæmon ever raised his fame as a poet. **ALCMAN** is the only exception to this remark; and he, by a surprising strength of genius, has made himself admired over all Greece. The beauty and justness of his sentiments are the more striking, as the words which clothe them are inelegant. Besides the suppression of superfluous discourses, and the entertainments of the theatre, there is nothing tends so effectually to damp all attention to letters among the Spartans, as that institution of **LYCURGUS**, by which the magistrate is made the licencer of every sprightly and literary, as well as political composition; and the right of judging in matters of taste is unnaturally transferred from the impartial voice of the public, the best and only arbiter in those cases, to the thrones of the Ephori. Such are the fetters laid upon wit in Sparta, both by the roughness of their language, and the genius of their policy.

They condemn the refinements of science and subtle speculations: they pretend, that no studies are encouraged here, but those which strengthen the understanding, without perplexing it, and polish the manners, without enervating them. It is their opinion, that we are born for action, and not theory; and for the service, rather than the entertainment of mankind. Oratory is not only neglected, but abhorred in Sparta. They have no idea of what it is to be copious, and banished **CEPHISOPHON** for saying, "he could talk a whole day upon
any

"any question." A rhetorician told one of their kings, that eloquence was the most excellent gift to mankind; he answered, "You do well to say so; because when you are commanded silence, you are useless." The sententious brevity, and exquisite poignancy of the Laconic way of talking, are grown into a proverb. They laugh at the artful turns and round periods of the Athenians, and teach their children from their infancy to comprehend much in a short phrase; to express at once their whole meaning, so as to vie, in the manner of conveying their thoughts, with the quickness of thought itself. Thus the Spartans are fond of dexterity, not only in the exercises of war, but in those of the understanding. They have the most exalted notions of liberty, and define it to be a contempt of death, with the love of virtue. Just before the invasion of Greece, BURIS and SPERTHES went to XERXES to be punished in the name of their city, agreeably to the commands of the oracle, as a satisfaction for the murder of those messengers DARIUS had sent to them. The king was pleased with their bravery, and generously forgave them: he then asked them to continue with him, and commanded INDARNES to make them large offers, and press them very warmly. But they steadily refused, and told INDARNES, "He knew what it was to be a servant, but
"was ignorant of the blessings of liberty; for
"if he had tasted it, he would have advised
"them to maintain it, not only with the

“ weapons of a soldier, but, for want of them, with a spade or mattock, or any instrument of defence they could meet with.” No freedom of discourse is allowed any where but in the senate or the assembly. It is esteemed an impertinent curiosity to discuss such points, except in those places which the magistrate ordains, or on those occasions which the constitution marks out. A man would be branded with infamy for a minute examination into the affairs of his acquaintance; or even attending a court of justice, if his own business did not call him there.

Thou, my excellent friend, who art practised in the ways of men, must have ceased long since to be moved by the transports of admiration: but art thou not pleased with discovering that there is one community in the world, where every individual confines his attention to that which properly concerns himself? Free from a love of scandal, and all idle inquiries into the manners of their neighbours, (a passion which leads to public calumny, not private reproof, and increases the impudence of bad men, without checking the progress of vice,) no Spartan finds his time hang heavy on his hands. Engaged for ever in laudable pursuits, their youth is a state of temperance and exercise; their manhood of military service; their old age is spent in an healthy and full enjoyment of their faculties, in the administration of the laws, in applying their experience to the education of others, and in

the agreeable reflection, that, during the course of a life variously occupied, they have scarcely passed an hour unprofitably to themselves or their country.

LETTER CXVII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe. From Delphi.*

My excursions from Athens are, I hope, by no means useless to the king's service. I enlarge my knowledge of the dispositions and government of the Grecian states. I transmit my observations upon the manners and curiosities both of art and nature, which occur in the places I pass through, to the ministers of the sublime court; and I endeavour, at the same time, not to neglect the affairs of that city which is the particular scene of my employment.

A meeting of the Amphictyons, or states general of Greece, now held at Delphi, affords me a fair occasion to lay before thee some account of their origin, form, and business. They are a part of the Grecian constitution, to which the Persians have but little attended, and with which it may be highly advantageous, not to say necessary, for them to be better acquainted, in their future negotiations here. This celebrated assembly received its name, as well as institution, from

AMPHICTYON, an Athenian king; who, observing that the separate interests and dissensions which prevailed amongst the Grecian republics, exposed them to the invasions of their more powerful neighbours, wisely exhorted them to unite, by deputies, in one common body, which might, in times of danger, concert the best measures for their mutual safety, and prevent, by its salutary influence, the ill effects of private animosities and disjointed counsels. As he was a pious as well as political prince, he put the temple of Delphi, and the sacred territory, under the care and protection of the Amphictyonic tribunal; wisely thinking, that the public defence and public religion should be matters of a general concern to the Grecians, however divided on subjects of less importance. ACRAISIUS, who reigned several years after at Argos, is reported to have increased the privileges, and regulated the laws, of the Amphictyons; and is for that reason esteemed by some a second founder. The states which enjoy the right of sending deputies to this council, are at present twelve; the Ionians, Thessalians, Bœotians, Dorians, Perrhœbeans, Magnesians, Locrians, Oetians, Phthiotians, Maleans, Phocians, and Dolopians; but it is probable, that as some may have forfeited that distinction, and others been admitted in later times, who were not originally included, the number has not been always the same. The assembly meets in the spring and autumn of every year, either at Delphi or Thermopylæ; and every city amongst

the people who compose it, chuses two members, the one called the Hieromnemon, and the other the Pylagoras, to represent it. The former is elected by lot, and has the honor to be president of the council in his turn, to gather the voices, pronounce the decree, and administer at the sacrifices, which are made either in the name of all the Greeks, or the particular city by which he is deputed. The latter is chosen by vote, and is properly the orator of the deputation; he delivers the opinion of his state, defends it against any accusation, and takes care of its interest upon all occasions. As soon as these deputies arrive at the place where the Amphictyons are convened, they offer up a sacrifice to the tutelar deity; at Delphi to APOLLO, at Thermopylæ to CERES. Then they repair to the assembly; but before they are admitted to take their seats, the following oath is tendered to them, which, being a remarkable one, I shall here insert:

" I swear never to contribute towards destroying any of the cities honored with the
" right of chusing Amphictyons; or stop the
" course of their running waters, either in
" time of war or peace. If any person steal
" the offerings out of the temple of APOLLO,
" or assist another in so doing, I will oppose
" them with my hands, feet, voice, and my
" whole strength. Whoever infringes this oath,
" whether it be a state or a private person, let
" them be accursed of APOLLO, DIANA, LATONA, and MINERVA the provident! may their
" soil prove barren, their women bring forth

"nothing but monsters, and their animals not
 "produce in kind! May they never perform a
 "pure sacrifice to APOLLO, DIANA, and MI-
 "NERVA the provident; and may their offerings
 "be an abomination to those deities! May
 "they be alike unsuccessful in war and law-
 "suits, and may their posterity be extirpated
 "from the face of the earth!"

A perfect equality is kept up amongst the
 members of this great council; the representa-
 tives of the most powerful republic in Greece
 have no advantage or pre-eminence over those
 of the least. Each state, from the flourishing
 commonwealth of Athens to the petty town of
 Eretria, possesses the right of two votes in the
 persons of its deputies; and, by having an
 equal share in the deliberations of the Am-
 phictyons, looks upon itself as equally con-
 cerned in the welfare of Greece. As their
 meetings are attended with a vast concourse of
 people from all parts of the country, it has been
 useful, on particular occasions; for the Hie-
 romnemonēs to summon all the Grecians, who
 then happen to be resident in the place where
 the assembly is held, to assist at its delibera-
 tions; with this distinction, that the latter are
 not allowed to vote, but merely called upon
 to countenance, by their presence, the decrees
 of the Amphictyons, and to give them a fuller
 sanction. The power of this diet is very large,
 and extends to the proclaiming of war, and
 the deciding of public differences, of which
 I shall mention two remarkable instances.
 About the time of SOLON, the Cirrheans and

Acragallidæ, besides other insolences, plundered the temple of Delphi, and disregarded the orders of the Amphictyons; upon which that body, after taking the advice of the oracle, declared war against them in the name of all Greece; defeated their forces, reduced the whole nation, as polluted with sacrilege and impiety, to a state of servitude, and devoted their country to the service of the god. In the accommodating way, their endeavours have not been less successful than in the military; for when the Spartans and Argives had harassed each other by a continued war for many years, they referred their difference to the arbitration of the Amphictyons, who, without taking upon them to determine the justice of the cause on either side, ordered them to bring it to a short issue by a combat of four hundred men, chosen out of both armies. Of late years they have intermeddled less than usual in the great affairs of Greece, and held their meetings chiefly for form sake; their chief business at present being to settle a tax upon the Grecian states for some additions and repairs to the temple of Delphi. The end of their institution was certainly to keep up a good understanding in a nation composed of so many different governments and jarring interests; and were the leading republics disposed to accommodate their disputes, overtures towards a negotiation could not be set on foot any were, with greater weight and propriety, than in this assembly.

I rejoice to hear of the vigorous resolutions of our potent monarch. Another year can hardly pass over, before some crisis may offer itself, which may induce him to employ the forces so wisely ordered to be got in readiness. I have now discharged the duty I owe the king, as his minister in Greece; but it is a duty no less incumbent on me, to acknowledge the protection I received from thee, noble scribe, against the aspersions which the malice of enemies would have thrown on my reputation and conduct. Hard is it for a man who is struggling abroad, amidst difficulties and hazards, in the service of his prince, to be exposed at home to the slander of the malicious, the reports of the credulous, and the judgment of the ignorant. But thou, generous GOBRYAS, proceedest not on the common maxims of courts; thou art no less steady in protecting merit, than sagacious in discovering it; and as thy recommendations to preferment are never intended to serve a base unworthy end, thou scornest to give up a minister who serves faithfully, through motives of fear or interest. May the chronicles of Persia, which transmit down thy fame to posterity, as a wise, an honest, and an able minister, when they record CLEANDER, the Ephesian, among those who had the honor to execute thy commands, mention him as one who was a follower, not of thy fortunes, but of thy virtues! Farewel.

P.

Extract of LETTERS from Athens.

OUR loss in Ætolia is considerable, not for the number of citizens, which did not exceed one hundred and twenty, but for the quality and valor of the slain. They were, most of them, of the best families in Athens, and distinguished by their experience and gallantry. DEMOSTHENES, our general, has been blamed, with reason, for quitting the siege of Leucas, which he was in a condition of taking, to comply with the persuasions of the Messenians, who flattered him with the hopes of making an easy conquest of Ætolia. Since his defeat he has resided at Naupactus, and lately obtained a reinforcement of a thousand men from the Acarnanians, to secure that important place (whose fortifications are of a large extent) against the attempts of EURYLOCHUS, the Spartan. We have lately received dispatches from him, which bring us an account, that EURYLOCHUS, with three thousand Lacedæmonians, having marched through Locris, and joined the Ætolians, laid waste the country about Naupactus, and set fire to part of the suburbs; but they no sooner heard that succours were arrived, than they retired into Ætolia, without receiving any advantage from this expedition, except recovering Molycrium for the Corinthians. But it is imagined they have a design on foot to attack Argos and Acarnania. Our advices from Sicily inform us, that CARNEADES, our admiral, has been

killed in a sea-fight against the Syracusians, and that PACHES, who succeeds him in the command, has taken Messina. We have not received so much damage from the settlement of the Lacedæmonians at Heraclea as was expected; for the colony, instead of being strong enough to make descents into Eubœa, is much harassed by the continual incursions of the Thessalians, its neighbours. The worst of our misfortunes is, that the plague still continues.

The island of Delos has been purified by order of the people, and the quinquennial festival ⁷¹, formerly celebrated there, revived with great pomp and solemnity. NICIAS was appointed to conduct the chorus of singers and dancers, and preside at the performance of this pious work, and has acquitted himself in the charge to every body's satisfaction; having set up a brazen palm-tree in honor of the god, and consecrated a large piece of land to the service of the temple.

An Amphictyonic council is likewise established, composed of deputies from this city, and the

⁷¹ A critic might venture from the mention of this council, not the least trace of which is to be found in any ancient author, to call in question the genuineness of our letters. But observe, reader, how luckily all circumstances conspire to establish their credit. The earl of Sandwich has, amongst other valuable fruits of his travels, enriched the literary world with an original state of the accounts of the temple, made by these very Amphictyons, in the 100th Olympiad. The marble was found at Athens; and Dr. Taylor has illustrated and supplied it with a great deal of learning and critical sagacity. See his *Dissertation on the Marmor Sandvicense*.

islands of the Ægean, who are to have the direction of all matters relating to the temple, to regulate the expenses of the games and sacrifices, and settle the quota of money which each state is to contribute towards them.

LETTER CXVIII.

CRATIPPUS to CLEANDER. *From Sparta.*

I HAVE detained thee hitherto, CLEANDER, with some scattered remarks on the manners of the people I converse with, and dwelt only on the outside of things. Let us now penetrate into the recesses of their policy, and the peculiar strokes of wisdom which distinguish it. I enter on the task of anatomizing their constitution with pleasure; as it is in further obedience to thy commands, and compliance with my own inclinations. And though, like other anatomies, it affords more trouble than entertainment in the execution; yet in the close it produces very useful matter of reflection; which might be drawn out by thy activity and address into consequences of the last importance to thy country.

One aim and intention of LYCURGUS was, to preserve the commonwealth, he founded, from civil feuds. To this end he removed, every internal cause of commotion, by dividing Lacedæmon into thirty thousand equal lots; and of these, nine thousand are in the hands

of the Spartans. The culture of them brings forth a very ample provision for the necessities of life; and their care, thou knowest, extends not to its ornaments. The number of citizens corresponds exactly to that of the portions of land, which are never to be increased or diminished. Thus, not a man in the state being more powerful than another, the legislator has left no fuel for future animosities. By means of so excellent a measure, and the exclusion of foreign commerce in the abolition of silver and gold, he has fixed the republic on the most solid and unalterable foundation. This last law, which forbids the current use of any, except iron or leather money, is conceived with the utmost art, and in the spirit of a great politician. For, besides that it hinders the introduction of those vices that are the ordinary companions of an extensive trade, had he neglected to establish it, he would soon have found, notwithstanding his caution in the *Agrarian*, that still one door was open to sedition. Without this institution, that law must have operated ineffectually; since the balance of money being distinct from that of land, would, by the increase of riches, in process of time, have exceeded it; so that an unequal distribution of property remaining, the seeds of contention would have remained with it; and whoever had raised a large personal fortune in traffic, might have been able to disturb the commonwealth by faction.

The legislator, after having prevented all occasion of tumult from within, imagined they

would be able to repel any from without by their union. The Helots, however, have made several struggles for their liberty: they are a nation of slaves, (to which a number of conquered Messenians has been added some years since,) and receive the most cruel usage from their masters. They are of great service in war as well as in the tillage, which is intrusted wholly to their industry. Every Spartan is attended by seven of them in the field, and they have fought sometimes so valiantly, as to have been presented with a crown of olive and their freedom by the state. Their multitudes are so considerable, as that now and then in harvest time, the youth are ordered to go out and massacre the reapers, when they are returning from their work in the evening. So infamous and savage a custom took its rise from the apprehension of an insurrection, and is thought a necessary act of policy and self-defence.

As to the magistrates of this state, they are few; because it is neither vicious nor populous. Thirty members compose the senate, which is equal to the kings in power. They are chosen by the votes of the people, not by lot; and continue in office during life, if they show a regard to virtue and the public good; for good morals are esteemed so essential a qualification to a statesman, that if a bad citizen gives an opinion which is generally approved of, it is entered on their journals, as the advice of some better man, and not in the name of the mover. No one is admitted into this venerable

council under the age of sixty, nor unless he be distinguished for his merit, and has offered himself a candidate. They are judges in capital causes, and take much time to consider of them; because an error once made in a matter of life and death is not to be amended. They debate on every point of public business, and propose their resolutions to be confirmed by the assembly. They are accountable to none, and all the offices of the state are intrusted to them.

The kings are taken out of the two branches of HERCULES's family. They must be educated in the Spartan manner; and no small weight is laid on their bodily perfections, such as tallness and strength: for it is not long since, that the wife ARCHIDAMUS was fined in a round sum for marrying a short wife. They told him, "his posterity would degenerate from their great ancestors." In the beginning of every month they take a solemn oath to maintain the laws. They administer the holy rites, and have a tithe of all swine, that none may be wanting for the sacrifices. They are sole judges in cases of adoption and the highways. A double portion is assigned them at the public meals, where they are required to attend constantly, and dine at a separate table: one of them was punished some years ago for eating at home with his queen. A palace is appropriated to their use, and all outward marks of respect shown them. Their powers, however, are very limited in times of peace; for each is subject to be tried by his brother king, the

senate, and the ephori, although they are indulged in appealing to the assembly, and such points are determined only after mature deliberation. In war nothing can be more extensive than their authority. Either of them may be sent out at the head of the army, and performs all the offices of a general without control; and though he has counsellors appointed him, it is in his own breast to follow their advice, or depart from it. The family and relations of the kings are treated with no more regard than other citizens; but the hereditary right is so secure, that notwithstanding the father suffers exile for mal-administration, the punishment reaches not to the son, nor is he excluded from the succession.

The people are divided into six tribes, and distinguished by their dresses, sandals, and way of wearing their hair, from all other Grecians. The great popular assembly of Laconia is composed of thirty thousand citizens, dispersed into every city and district of the country: the lesser, of the Spartans, which meets on every occasion, while the other is never called together, except on the important subject of peace or war. The place where they receive the propositions of the senate, on which they are not suffered to debate, lies between the bridge Babyca and the river Cnacion, near the Persian trophy. They do business in the open air, and blame the Athenians for assembling in fine buildings adorned with elegant paintings and statues; because they imagine that

the welfare of the state may often suffer from such ill-placed magnificence ; as it tends to captivate the senses , and distract the understanding, which ought to be better employed. Their decisions in former times differed so much from the senate, that POLYDORE and THEOPOMPUS enacted an unconstitutional law , which has been since cancelled , “ that whenever the “ people gave a wrong vote , the kings and “ senate should have a power of over-ruling it.” The strength of the people increased to such a degree afterwards, that the same THEOPOMPUS was forced to allow them the creation of the four Ephori, who are guardians of their interest ; and , though designed only at first to shield the people from the senate and the kings, have since usurped an absolute jurisdiction over all. This king was blamed by his queen for consenting to weaken the royal authority. “ But “ (said he) it will be now more solid , and “ consequently more lasting.” The Ephori continue but one year in place, and no man can be elected into that office a second time. They superintend the treasury, judge in civil causes, execute the royal office in the absence of the kings , preside at the games and on all festivals, as well as in the assemblies of the people. They have a share too in the management of the senate, and are alone exempted from paying an external reverence to the reigning princes. The authority of recalling generals from the army, or any of the public officers, is vested in their hands, and in their dispatches to them
they

they use the scytalè⁷², which is an artful manner of conveying a letter into foreign countries, without a possibility of its contents being discovered, except by the proper person. In a word, they are so powerful, as to dispense rewards or punishments at their pleasure; and the state is not secure from the exercise of their tyranny, unless they are divided by jealousies. These are the chief magistrates on whom the motions of the republic depend. And now, CLEANDER, pause a moment to admire the wisdom of LYCURGUS; for the equality of estates confines the power of the governors; and the slow rotation of honors restrains the ambition of the aspiring. These are the never-failing sources of the Spartan tranquillity.

There are other inferior officers, who inspect the exercises of the youth, the manners of the women, the behaviour of the citizens in public places, and settle the prices of goods, and the weights and measures of the market.

There are others also, who are appointed to take care of strangers and ambassadors, to

⁷² The nature and use of the scytalè was this: when they gave a general his commission, they took two round pieces of wood, in the form of truncheons, alike in thickness and length. One they kept themselves, the other was delivered to him. So, when they had any thing to communicate to him, they cut a long narrow scroll of parchment, and winding it about their staff, one fold close under another, they wrote their business down the sides of it. Then they took off the parchment and sent it to the officer, who, applying it to his own, which exactly resembled theirs, the folds fell in with one another, as at the writing, and the characters were read with ease. Vide Plut. in Vit. Lys. & Aul. Gell. lib. xvii. c. 9.

dismiss them at a convenient time, and to prevent the Spartans from conversing with them. The Pythii are sent to consult the oracle on all emergencies, and are permitted to dine with the kings. One of them constantly attends the senate. The Hippagretæ are three in number, and elected by the Ephori. It is their business to sit at the head of the public tables every day, and send a proper share of the meal to those who absent themselves at a sacrifice or chase, the only lawful reasons of absentsing. They chuse out three hundred of the bravest citizens, and form them into a body, which is supplied by new ones, as any of them fall in war, or are excluded from the company, because of their age. These are they who fought with LEONIDAS at Thermopylæ; and the custom of giving them precedence over the rest of the army was wisely instituted by LYCURGUS, as an admission into it raises great emulation among the soldiers. In a day of battle they are placed before the king in the centre. PÆDARCHUS stood as a candidate, a few months since, to supply a vacancy in this troop; and upon finding he was not chosen, he went out from the presence of the Ephori with much seeming gaiety, and in a fit of laughter. They called him back, and inquired the reason of it. He answered, "he could not help congratulating the state in silence, on being possessed of three hundred braver and better citizens than himself." At the last Olympic games, another Spartan being asked, whether his victory there would be of any service to him, he replied,

"Yes, for it would recommend him to a station before the king in battle." The statues of the gods are all in armor, to intimate that the people place their confidence in military force. Their sacrifices are made with uncommon frugality; because they imagine the Deity is more moved by the sincerity than the incense of the worshipper. The only prayer they offer up at the altar is, that "they may receive good things for their good actions." They bury the dead in the city, and the tombs are placed in the precincts of the temples. All mourning ceases in eleven days. No one is allowed an inscription on his monument, except he dies in the field, in order to appropriate a kind of religious regard to the sepulchres of the valiant. The nearest relations of the slain judge, from those parts of his body where he has received his wounds, whether he deserves an honorable interment.

Their treaties of peace are engraven on stone pillars, and annually renewed by a solemn deputation sent to the contracting state. The legislator has commanded them to treat the vanquished with lenity, and to forbear plundering the dead bodies. They set so much an higher value on a victory gained by stratagem than by force, that in the former case they sacrifice an ox to MARS, and in the latter, no more than a dunghill cock. They pay little attention to fleets, which is the necessary consequence of a want of trade. For the same reason it is with difficulty they raise money for carrying on a war, though they

have scarce any need of it, since every Spartan serves in the field at his own expense; and as to the troops of the allies, they are paid by their own masters. Whenever they have wealth in possession, it is preserved in their temples, or deposited with their neighbours the Arcadians.

No settled number of troops is maintained by this state, and one of their kings being interrogated about it, said, "It was no matter, they were sufficient to defeat an insolent enemy." There is something very becoming, as well as very religious, in the ceremonies they use in time of war. The king, when he is going out, sacrifices in his own family to Jupiter *αἰνῶν*, and the fire remains unextinguished on the altar till his return, when he makes an offering of the spoils to the god. Before every action he sacrifices to the muses; then each man puts a garland on his head, combs his hair, and the trumpet sounds to the onset. In truth, no state of Greece equals this people in the art of war, for they are perpetually employed in those exercises which are the representation of it.

Thus the Lacedæmonians are a nation of soldiers, trained up to a military life, in order to defend their own liberties, without invading the quiet of their neighbours, and to repel the unreasonable attacks of their enemies, without aiming to be lordly conquerors. So just and excellent were the purposes of LYCURGUS; but it is the misfortune of this great republic to have avoided an effeminacy, which would have

been injurious to itself only, and to have indulged a lust of power, which lays waste mankind; so that it carries its principle of mortality in the very circumstance which has raised its glory, and constitutes its strength. The restless spirit of HERCULES is descended to the Spartans, and they can by no means content themselves with mock skirmishes, and the idle mimicry of war. Proud of their superiority in the field over the whole world, and of that vigor which arises from health and temperance, they are desirous to prove both by their effects, however fatal.

Founded on a scheme of entire separation from the manners of other countries, in making foreign acquisitions, and giving way to their national ambition, they break through the national constitution: in setting Greece at variance with itself, they are working their own as well as the general destruction. And, by the sacred life of ARTAXERXES, (if I foresee aright,) the day cannot be far distant, when every people of the West, reduced to misery and weakness by the wounds of civil war, shall bend before his arm, shall adore the rising power of our eastern sun, and own the healing influence of his beams.

C.

LETTER CXIX.

CRATIPPUS to CLEANDER.

BY this time, CLEANDER, I am persuaded thou considerest the republic of Lacedæmon as an heap of peculiarities; and did not the behaviour of the state itself, as well as the testimony of all Greece, unite in confirming my account, thou mightest be tempted to suspect the credit of it, and perhaps to think the whole a creature of my own imagination. To be serious, the Spartan government is so remote from the practice of the world, and so strongly declaimed against by the voice of nature, that were it not for custom, that second nature, no people upon earth would willingly conform to it. The penetrating LYCURGUS foresaw this; and, from his intimate acquaintance with men and things, wisely judged it impossible to fix the form of government which he gave his countrymen, unless he moulded their passions to his laws, and interwove an habit of cheerful obedience into their very tempers and constitution. To this end he was attentive to their education, beyond what has been recorded of the ancient Persians, and has disabled every man from enjoying the privileges of a Spartan, who has not gone through the several parts of the institution. No one is a citizen by birth, except his father and mother are of the city; and as soon as an infant

is born into a family, the elders of the tribe examine it. They determine whether it be of a tender or a vigorous make, and accordingly either expose or educate it, without reflecting, that a weak constitution often settles into a state of health; and that nature sometimes makes amends for a feeble and deformed body, by the strength and beauty of the understanding. If the child be approved, he is assigned a lot among the citizens, and pronounced capable of bearing public offices. They inure them to hardships from the first, and the children of the magistrates and of private men are clothed and nourished in the same manner. At seven years old they are put into the class of boys, and at the age of eighteen they are numbered among the *Ephebi*. In the mean time they are taught to go barefoot, live entirely upon flesh, that they may have large limbs and florid countenances, and are accustomed, above all, to the exercise of hunting. At a certain time of the year some of them are laid upon the altar of *DIANA ORTHIA*, and scourged so severely, that they have expired upon the spot. But the patience and spirit of the boys not only exceed belief, but even the capacity of human nature in all other countries. The goddess is said to delight in blood and cruelty; and *LYCURGUS* appointed annually this barbarous sacrifice at her shrine, as well to appease the vengeful temper of the Deity, as to make that shrine a monument of Spartan heroism. But does it not argue a want of sense, to suppose any being disinterestedly malevolent? Or is it

so much an exercise of courage as enthusiasm, to suffer quietly the follies and the insolence of depraved religion? Exclaim then with me, CLEANDER, at the infamous scene, and shrink with horror on the very mention of such criminal and ill-natured piety.

There is another custom enjoined by law, and practised by the boys, which, though singular enough, is yet much freer from exception than the last; I mean that of stealing. As all things in the hands of private persons are considered as belonging to the state, a dexterity of this kind is so far from giving offence, that it raises the character of the person who excels in it. The boys are encouraged to it, as it habituates them to stratagem and military address; and whoever is caught in it is punished, not for the fact, but his want of vigilance and quickness. The shocking story of him who permitted a fox to tear out his bowels, before he would discover the theft, is too well known to be enlarged upon. They are bred up in strict reverence of the oldest citizens. It is expected that the latter should reprove them for every fault committed in their sight, under pain of the same penalty. The younger must bear these reproofs without resentment, and with modesty; and it is required, whenever they are seen publicly in the streets, that they should keep their eyes fixed upon the ground, and be guilty of no levity. Nor is it unusual for those in the higher classes to chuse out certain youths for their favorites. The law enacts, that in such cases the Inamoratos shall

suffer for the trespasses of those whom they protect; and enjoins the rest, who are not honored in this manner, to suppress carefully the rising of envy. When a lad has been two years among the Ephebi, he is often placed at the head of the class of boys, and conducts them in the morning to their martial exercises. In the Gymnasia, the girls contend naked with them in wrestling, dancing, boxing, and all those sports which are assigned generally to the province of men. No Spartan is indulged in marrying any woman, except he has vanquished her at these games. It is owing to this education, so contrary to the female softness in most nations, that the women of Lacedæmon are esteemed rough, haughty, and assuming. GORGO, the wife of LEONIDAS, was one day asked the reason, "Why the ladies of her country had so great a power over the men?" "Because (answered she) they alone produce men." It was the opinion of LYCURGUS, that the inclinations of the mother have a surprising effect upon the children, as well as her arts of persuasion on the husband. So he has contrived to unite their sentiments with each other's, and the laws of the republic, by obliging them to a similitude of manners, and training them to warlike exercises. Then wonder not that VENUS is adored in armor by this people. Every citizen must marry at the age of thirty; and whoever has contributed four children to the common stock, is discharged by law from all painful services. The married ladies wear veils, and the unmarried

ones appear without any. The former are supposed to be contented with their present husband, and the latter are desirous to gain one. Virgins are wedded without a dower, and a temporary exchange of wives is allowed in the city. An old man may make over his wife to a younger, and a new bridegroom must visit his spouse by stealth. These are the odd passages in the connubial laws of Sparta.

The Ephebi are enjoined many hardships, while all who are in the class of men are indulged in an honorable tranquillity, and exemption from those toils. Public lodgings are set apart for them; they lie down together on beds of reeds, and are taught never to give way to sleep from a love of indolence, but merely to refresh themselves, and according to the dictates of nature. They use no ointments, nor any bath but the river Eurotas. The combats of the Ephebi are extremely fierce; and no man is at liberty to own himself conquered. They are forbid to drink, unless it be to quench their thirst; and, in order to force them to sobriety, it is enacted, that in the darkest nights they shall go home without torches. Thou mayest observe, CLEANDER, to what low minutenesses the care of LYCURGUS has descended; because he well knew that the manners of a state in trifles are of consequence to support its strength.

The Spartans eat together in common halls. Each table has a select company; and no man is admitted to any one of them without the general consent of the members who frequent

it. This is done with a view to prevent any interruption in the conversation, and that no citizen may be uneasy at the seasons appointed for relaxation. Every man sends in a monthly contribution for the maintenance of the entertainments; and it is expected he should come thither, without having privately feasted at his own house. One instance of such luxury, if brought to light, would be attended with infamy. They sit down without any distinction of age, and are waited on by the boys, to whom they prescribe silence. It is not an uncommon thing at these times to put subtle questions to the youth; and if they fail of returning a short, clear, pertinent, and ready answer, they are punished by the head of the class. After dinner they make some of their slaves drunk, with a view to instil an abhorrence of that crime into their children. The inhumanity of this practice is more odious, than the design of it is commendable. The ordinary table-talk of the Spartans is remarkably improving. Their discourse turns chiefly on virtue, liberty, a contempt of other nations, their own form of government, the character of their lawgiver, and the history of their great men. These subjects are always uppermost in a Spartan's thoughts.

After so many particulars recited at large of this people, I flatter myself, that thy friendship will induce thee to be a little inquisitive after me. Within a few days I shall enter into the class of men, as thou mayest easily guess, very highly to my comfort; and

to complete me as a citizen, I am lately become a sharer in the lands of the state; for a Spartan, with whom I had contracted an intimate acquaintance, died since my return from Thebes, without any relations, and left me the heir to his lot. Believe me, CLEANDER, it was with no reluctance that I exchanged the sumptuous cookery, and the feasts of Asia, for the black broth and the fordid diet of this city. Let me confess to thee, however, that I called up all the powers of dissimulation to my help, in counterfeiting an unwilling approbation of those rough sports, in the Palestræ of their youth, where I have acted by turns the part of the victor and the vanquished. But the king's service bears down every consideration of private convenience in the breast of the faithful CRATIPPUS. And when I reflect on the labors of Lacedæmon in profound peace, I do not wonder at their fondness for the comparative repose of war; nor is it a virtue in those men to despise death, who lead a life of which they have reason to be weary.

C.

LETTER CXX.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS.

DURING the whole course of my busy and dangerous employment, never have I more ardently wished for the company of my old friends, the partners of my studious and speculative years, than I did this morning in the sacred grove of laurel, which leads from the temple to the brow of the hill. Thither I retired, full of the reflections which this remarkable place must suggest; and how did I regret those charming conversations of our Bactrian solitude! Where the venerable SMERDIS would lead the inquisitive CLEANDER into the highest subjects, would hear his objections, redress his errors, direct his reasonings, and warm his heart. What new lights are thrown upon a question by those friendly debates! And, for want of such communication, how am I stopped every moment in my course of thinking, while I am tracing to their original the imposture and superstition, which bring to these altars the adoration and the wealth of all Greece!

Under these disadvantages, forgive me, gentle Mage, should I fall into mistakes, or even controvert some opinions which prevail among our eastern sages: for never can I be persuaded that the oracles, which we see scattered through this land of idolatry, are under

the immediate guidance of the great enemy of truth and order; that the knowledge of future events delivered there is an emanation from the impious ARIMANIUS; and that such are the methods by which he establishes the kingdom of error, and diverts the worship of mankind from its only true object. How hard is the supposition, that the just, the benign OROMASDES should suffer the human mind, confined and fallible as he created it, to be thus unequally attacked, thus invincibly deluded? And what a preposterous dispensation is it, that where he is adored with that purity which reason dictates, and his own prophet has prescribed, no such divine communications are vouchsafed; while he permits the book of fate to be opened near every venerable grove and romantic fountain in Greece, for the purposes of impiety and superstition!

But we need not fear any such conclusion. OROMASDES speaks to all men by the great voice of reason and nature, and to the purer East by his sacred volume. By these ways the supreme Wisdom teaches us what we are concerned to know; and we cannot expect to be indulged in the vain curiosity of foreseeing what cannot be prevented. Nor is ARIMANIUS to be charged with revealing those secrets. From all I could observe in this feat of divination, we are not to recur to any preternatural power. Blind devotion and artful management will explain the whole mystery; and men are deceived but by men.

As soon as one begins to ascend the sacred mountain, every thing appears adapted to inspire a religious horror. The ancient trees hanging over the rock on each side the temple, and the rock itself opening into a rude kind of semicircle, whose echoes increase the confused voices, and the sound of the trumpets, which always make part of the ceremony; the magnificence of the buildings, and the richness and elegance of the consecrated gifts, sufficient of themselves to strike the imagination, are particularly pointed out and exaggerated by a set of men whose business it is to wait upon strangers; and who, I observed, endeavoured to lead them into some account of themselves, and the circumstances which brought them to consult the god.

After duly performing the various sacrifices and purifications, without which the temple is not to be approached, they are conducted thither; their head muffled up in their garments, and trumpets blowing all round them, that no sight or sound of evil omen may interrupt the procession. This indeed makes a most ridiculous appearance; and what with the solemnity, the noise, and the uneasy posture they walk in, they are quite fatigued and confounded by the time they get to the cell, where they wait with their questions in their hands. While they are in this devout expectation, they are sometimes refreshed with the most fragrant odors issuing from the inmost recesses of the temple. As this is a token of the Deity's peculiar favor, it scarcely ever

happens but when some person of consequence is among the suppliants.

In the mean time water is brought to the Pythia from the Castalian fountain, and she chews the leaves of the sacred laurel, to prepare her for the prophetic office. Immediately she rushes into the sanctuary, her hair dishevelled, her color changed, her eyes rolling, foaming at the mouth, and with all the marks of fury and distraction. She throws down the censers and the laurel branches that stand in her way; and at last is seated upon the tripod by the attending priests, and delivers the answer of the god in a loud and hollow voice.

Thou wilt imagine I must be attentive to so extraordinary a spectacle; and every circumstance brought to my mind the tradition they have here, about the first discovery of the prophetic cave, over which the tripod is placed. Some goats, they tell us, browsing upon the edge, suddenly fell into a kind of madness, leaping and making strange noises. The goat-herd ran to the cave, and, looking down into it, was seized in the same manner; his features were distorted, and the tone of his voice altered, just as it happens to the Pythia, and the spirit of divination came upon him. This surely points out to us a physical solution: we know the vapors arising from different parts of the earth have very sensible effects upon the human body. There are exhalations that cause instant death; there are caverns that stupify for a time: and may not the Castalian fountain, running through the same soil, partake of the
same

same qualities? May not the laurel too promote the epileptic symptoms? Such is the nature of that plant, according to the observation of HIPPOCRATES; and hence perhaps it is dedicated to APOLLO, the author of enthusiasm, and bears a principal part in all the rites of divination. There are instances where the paroxysm has been so violent, that even the sacred ministers were terrified, and left the Pythia to herself; and not long since she died in the operation, having taken probably too strong a dose. Besides, on any other principles, what can this fury mean? Can it serve any purpose, but that of amusing and edifying the multitude? Can a madman see further into futurity than one in his senses? And should not the mind in its undisturbed state be fittest to converse with a superior intelligence?

How different is the disposition of the holy men amongst whom thou residest! Abstracted indeed from the world, but not unfit for it, not heated by passion, nor sunk into melancholy, they are prepared to receive the divine influence; and if such influence, after the copious stream shed upon our great lawgiver, still descends upon the sons of men, it must be upon these his successors. The effects at least are worthy of so sublime an original. These sages are not employed in giving doubtful answers to trifling or impious questions, in encouraging a curiosity destructive both of happiness and virtue; but in one great scheme of benevolence and instruction, in correcting the mistaken, succouring

the unfortunate, pointing out the great truths of morality, and leading the way to the practice of it.

Formerly the oracles were all delivered in verse; but they were generally in so bad a taste, and sometimes so lame and irregular, that as the age grew more critical, they could not be borne any longer. It was too plain an absurdity, that HOMER and HESIOD should be greater masters of the art than the god of poetry, who inspired them; and therefore he now usually speaks in prose. But, to preserve the ancient form, there is a band of poets ready, who reduce the answers into measure, and may be useful also to give them sense and coherence upon occasion.

Not that sense and coherence are always thought necessary. The god adapts himself to the genius of his votaries; and to those who admire most what they least understand, he condescends to give words without a meaning, from which they seldom fail to pick out something applicable to their wishes or their fears. A certain degree of obscurity is essential to every oracle; it becomes the dignity of the power who dispenses them; and it were profane to expose the divine secrets too plainly to the unhallowed vulgar. Thus does superstition impose upon itself, and leaves fraud and contrivance little to do. Not but in those cases where more caution is required, the finest artifices are employed to support the credit of the temple: the way of life, the passions, the expectations, the very countenance,

of the consulter is attended to. Where the probability lies strongly on one side of the question, the answer inclines that way. Generally it is so adjusted, as tolerably to suit either event; and where public business is the subject, and more eyes are turned upon it, there it is particularly involved and ambiguous. The Delphic shrine, however, has the reputation of speaking plainly; and the rest of the prophetic gods and heroes, and even APOLLO himself, from his other temples, send their worshippers hither, to get their revelations farther revealed.

While I was surveying the sacred treasury, and observed almost in every room some costly offering of CROESUS, I could not but pity that unfortunate prince, whose dependance on this very oracle lost him his crown. And when a Spartan of the company was showing me the tablet whereon is engraved the famous answer given to LYCURGUS, I pointed to CROESUS's golden lion, and said, "See there a memorial of a different nature. The god who gave a sanction to the constitutions of your law-giver, sent the no less devout Lydian monarch on an expedition that ruined him; and as he established one government, he overturned another."

The greatest number and the most valuable of the presents were, I took notice, of the same age with those last mentioned. The multitude indeed still flocks to these altars; and the states of Greece, on every great occasion of conquest or deliverance, still dedicate a

statue, or erect a trophy. But the men of understanding and consequence no longer repose that trust in the decisions from Delphi, which their ancestors used to do. The instances of influence and corruption, which these later times have afforded, must indeed be sufficient to open their eyes, and to put an end to so slavish a prejudice. The portico of Parian marble, which adorns the front of the temple, was the price of driving the Pisistratidæ out of Athens; and the story of HIPPIAS is not yet forgotten at the Persian court, who used to complain, that while the opposite faction had the care of the sacred buildings, the Spartans, who consulted the oracle, (whatever their questions were,) had always the same answer returned them; "that they should restore liberty to Athens." The like interested motives prevailed upon the Pythia, PERIALLA, to pronounce DAMARATUS illegitimate; and we have heard the old men of XERXES's court describe the satisfaction the exiled king expressed, when he heard at Thermopylæ that the impious priestess was convicted and deprived. The taste that begins to prevail all over this country for real science, and the free debates upon the great principles of nature and religion, which are held at Athens particularly, will go on to expose the imposture; and I foresee, without consulting the god, that in the next age his prophecies will be ridiculed, and his altar deserted.

One word more, to obviate a prejudice relating to this oracle, which is spread over the

East. The panic which seized the troops of XERXES, when they came near Delphi, has been wonderfully magnified. Thunders are said to have burst from Parnassus, and stones to have rolled down its sides, in defence of the holy place. The attempt upon it indeed miscarried; but the same army plundered and burnt a sumptuous temple of the same deity at Abæ, which, it should seem, he was equally concerned to protect.

May we, holy Mage, be content with, and make the best use of the present time! This is the method to lay in happiness for futurity. The wise and gracious OROMASDES has given us prudence and sagacity sufficient for the common events of life; and where the prospect is clouded, and out of the reach of our view, we may safely trust ourselves in those hands from whence we came, and whither we are to return. It is ridiculous to hope for information from above upon every trifle; and a traveller through Greece must remark, that oracles are much the most frequent in Boeotia, which is by no means the country of wits or philosophers.

W.

LETTER CXXI.

TELEPHANES to CLEANDER. *From Persepolis.*

WHILE I enjoy, CLEANDER, an honorable subsistence in the court ARTAKERKES, it would show great ingratitude in me not to acknowledge, that the source of all my good fortune was from thee. During the short time I have been in Persia, I have borne a share in the public mourning, and lost a generous patron in MEGABYZUS. He received me with great humanity, and was pleased with the design ⁷³ I had drawn for a repository of that valuable collection which thou sentest him out of Greece. The materials were in readiness for beginning the work, if his death had not prevented it. But I was so fortunate as to be made known, through his recommendation, to the other satraps of this magnificent court, and even to the great king; and a little before MEGABYZUS's death was promoted to an employment under OTANES, superintendent of the royal palaces. The province assigned me was to carry on the ornaments of the splendid palace of Persepolis, to which improvements have been made by every succeeding prince from CYRUS, who is esteemed the founder. To pay the last respect to my excellent benefactor, I came hither in the mournful retinue which attended his obsequies; I saw him here entombed in the royal

⁷³ See Letter lxxxix.

mount, among the graves of the Persian monarchs. About four hundred feet distance from the citadel, the same rock of black marble, on which that is situated, rises to a considerable height; and in it are cut many cells and apartments, but into them no living person ever descends, and the coffins are let down by machines from the top.

There is a state and magnificence in the structure and situation of this palace, that strikes every beholder with pleasure and amazement. It stands north-east of the city, commanding that spacious valley through which runs the river Araxes. The rock for threescore acres appears to have been cut into form, with immense cost and toil, for the foundation of this marvellous pile. Nothing can be more stately than the double flight of stairs which leads to the first platform of the palace, by ninety-five steps from the plain below. The steps are so commodiously contrived, and of such a breadth from one side to the other, that twelve horsemen may with great ease ride up a-breast. The ascent to the upper court is by a second flight of stairs, with a large landing half way, after the manner of the first. The sides of the rock, both to the lower and upper platform, are cut in a perpendicular steep, and ornamented with figures in relieve; those upon the first in a rude grotesque style; but those upon the sides of the second, which represents a procession and sacrifice after a victory, are performed in a better taste. The citadel at the east end of the palace is encircled

with three walls, each rising above the other; the first sixteen cubits high, the second twice that height, and the last threescore. They are entered by seven gates of burnished brass. From the summit of this citadel there is a most extensive prospect, circumscribed only by the heavens themselves. There is not in these Asiatic buildings the same symmetry and proportion which we so much boast of in Greece; but there is in them something more great and stupendous than can perhaps result from the more regular designs of art. It cannot always be said, that the workmanship surpasses the materials; and yet the labor that has been employed in the several parts is incredible. The buildings upon the upper platform are of porphyry; which, notwithstanding the hardness of the stone, is inlaid in many places with a great variety of other costly marbles, representing, in Mosaic, human figures, landscapes, beasts, and flowers. The inner walls of the state apartments are of black marble, so exquisitely polished, that they reflect every object like a steel mirror, which extremely heightens the lustre of the gold upon the freeze, cornices, and flutings of the pillars. The famous vine in the king's bedchamber, which spreads its branches over the royal bed, is, in my opinion, better devised than executed. The stalk and branches are of burnished gold, and the clusters of orient pearl mixed with rubies of great value. The bedstead likewise is of gold, and the footstool alone estimated at three thousand talents. The state in the

presence chamber is supported with four columns of the same metal, thick-set with precious stones; and the coverings are of purple embroidered with various colors.

In the bas-reliefs about this palace, are represented most of the civil and religious ceremonies of the Persians, and under proper emblems, the doctrines of the Magi. I was amazed to see upon one of the walls, an image of monstrous shape, with many arms, like the Briareus of the Grecian poets, till I discovered that ARIMANIUS, the first principle of all evil, was meant by it.

There is near the entrance of the great hall a jasper tablet, twenty feet in height from the ground, inscribed with mysterious characters. The kind of writing is known to few. Some have attributed the invention of it to an eminent sage called BELTESHAZZER, who was satrap of the province of Babylon under the later Assyrian kings, and bore considerable honors, after the dissolution of the empire, in the courts of CYAXARES and CYRUS. From an Hebrew captive he was raised to a state of sovereign dignity, for his extraordinary wisdom and uncommon endowments. It is recorded of him, that he was possessed of a spirit of divination, and exactly foretold the great revolutions that happened in those times. His knowledge extended itself to all those sciences and arts that tend to enlarge the mind and embellish life; and what makes me mention him with the greater fondness is this, that he not only encouraged the improvement of arts in others,

but was a master in several of them, and particularly in architecture. Some strokes of his genius, I am told, appear in the plan and structure of this palace; and a considerable part of that at Susa, where he long resided, was built by him. It is a most finished design, and shows his singular good taste in building. To this BELTESHAZZER, some maintain, the peculiar simplicity of the Persian worship is owing; and ZOROASTER, they say, had never appeared as a reformer of the Magian principles, if BELTESHAZZER had not first been. The royal favor, by which he was eminently distinguished under the new monarch after the taking of Babylon, having created him the envy of the other satraps, they plotted to destroy him, by obtaining a decree from CYAXARES of such a nature as they knew the religion of the Jews, to which he firmly adhered, would inevitably oblige him to transgress. The king having inadvertently signed the decree, could not save him without weakening his own authority; and the penalty for transgressing required that he should be exposed to lions. The story is set forth in sculpture upon an inner wall of this palace, where the king is seated in state with the insignia of royalty; and a prisoner brought in chains before him, who, by the solemnity of the proceeding, appears to be a person of eminence: for on one side the throne are ranged the grandees of his court, and on the other the Magi; and a select number of priests and nobles are withdrawn apart, and seem to expostulate

with one another concerning the prisoner. Under these is placed a guard of six ranks of pikes, both men and arms in full proportion. With great unwillingness CYAXARES gave up his able and faithful counsellor. He was shut up in a cave of lions. But those savage animals had no power over him, and after having remained a night in this confinement, he was taken out unhurt, to the great confusion of his enemies. This confirmed the king in the opinion which he entertained before of his sanctity, and convinced all men that BELTESHAZZER was a person peculiarly favored by the gods. As a memorial of this story, there are within an arch near the passage leading to the subterranean apartments, the figure of a man with long hair, to show the eminent rank of the person, and a lion lying tamely at his feet, in sign of this miraculous escape. This is obvious enough. But more of the sculpture upon these walls is in the hieroglyphic way, altogether wrapt up in symbols. To form these symbols, they make use not only of natural animals, but chimerical and fabulous ones; as beasts with wings, and birds with four feet. These are images of the several states and empires that are or have been. The Assyrian monarchy is figured by a winged lion with a crown upon its head, implying the quick progress of its conquests. Thus the ram being the royal ensign of Persia, the ram's head, seen upon the pillars here, with horns one higher than the other, was expressive of the Medo-Persian empire. By the combats and

fierce encounters of the natural or fictitious animals, are set forth the wars of different countries, and the events of those wars determining the fate of empires. There is likewise an hieroglyphic language used in the writings of the eastern sages, which bears, I am told, a strict analogy to this sculptured imagery. * * * * *Desunt cætera.*

L.

LETTER CXXII.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES. *From Delphi.*

I THOUGHT it would be unpardonable, while I continued in the land of oracles, to neglect paying a visit at the cave of TROPHONIUS, which is attended even with a greater variety of strange circumstances, than the shrine at Delphi, and differs in the mysterious terror of its ceremonies from all others in the world. On mentioning the scheme to my companions, they readily closed in with it. PROCLES and I contrived, each of us, to form a question, which we might propose when we arrived there; and engaged old ARCHIAS to reserve one of his family-doubts for the resolution of the demigod. We journeyed in a few days from Delphi to Lebadea; and on one side of the town entered a very beautiful and romantic forest, which they call the grove of

TROPHONIUS ⁷⁴. The river Hercynna winds through it. On the side of a rising ground stands the temple, supported by brazen pillars; in the midst of it is the entrance into the prophetic cavern. We furnished ourselves with some cakes dipped in honey, and narrow ladders, according to our instructions; and proceeded in good order up the hill. Early in the morning the priests met us, in their formalities, at the door of a building dedicated to Good Fortune, where we were commanded to remain some hours. They asked, what were our respective difficulties; and told us, we must make an offering to APOLLO, SATURN, JUPITER, JUNO, and CERES. Victims were brought out with all speed; and the bowels being inspected, it was declared the deity would be favorable; and then we were invited to make a repast out of the leavings of the altar. I took the freedom to inquire, if any other rites must be performed, before we were permitted to descend. The holy men who waited on us looked at me with such indignation, that I began to find I had made a false step. One of them immediately entered into so large a detail of lustrations and expiations, which were necessary for past offences, that I would have given a thousand Darics to have been that moment sacrificing a Bactrian ox, in the Mithrae cell, rather than that this idle curiosity should have drawn me into a perplexing farce, so inconsistent with the genius of true religion.

⁷⁴ Pausan. Boeotic. He was probably conveyed to the seat of Minerva, to the temple of the goddess.

At the close of the evening we were informed it was time to break off our divine meditations, and walk down to the river, conducted by two boys about thirteen years of age. In the mean time the priests busied themselves in offering a ram to AGAMEDES, on whose auspicious aspect depends the ratification of the former omens. As we were undressing to bathe, PROCLÉS, with his usual vivacity, whispered me, that "he was amazed how one consulter of an oracle could look upon another without laughing." That ceremony ended, two doses of water were administered to each of us; the one called Lethe, to drown the remembrance of those things which so lately were the greatest part of our concerns; and the other Mnemosyné, to make us retain the memory of whatever was to be exhibited in our descent. Nobody but ANCHIAS could bear these draughts with a pious resignation. My head was so intoxicated with them, that I was in a fit condition to receive every thing the priests should tell me, and to enter the cave with a religious kind of horror. After an obeisance or two to a fine statue of DADALUS's workmanship, we were arrayed in linen habits adorned with ribbons, and the venerable Theban stepped forward to the mouth of the cave. He was rolled into it, and continued there for an hour. When he came out, (which was with his feet foremost,) the natural gravity of my friend's face seemed heightened into an inflexible dulness. He was presently conveyed to the seat of Mnemosyné, and having related

what he had seen and heard very confusedly, he was conducted into the temple of Good Fortune, where he was advised to stay, till he should be restored to his former senses. PROCLES and I were so astonished at this appearance, that I believe the terror of entering into the cell made an alteration in our looks, almost equal to that which might be expected on returning from it. However, it was too late to withdraw. PROCLES went through all the forms in the same manner with ARCHIAS; and when he rose again above ground, he was no more the lively, the humorous companion I had conversed with; every laughing feature was struck out of his countenance. My turn being next, though I knew the whole to be an impudent imposture, yet it occurred to me, there must be somewhat contagious in it, since PROCLES had the same sentiments; and, if it had been possible, the good sense of the man would have saved him from this extraordinary stupefaction. In great anxiety therefore I desired leave to speak with my acquaintance, that had gone through the operation, but was hurried into the cave without a moment's pause. When I fell down, I was beset on the sudden with a mist, and not having understanding enough to be certain whether I was awake or in a dream, conjecture that I received a blow upon the head, which stunned me. Soon after, I fancied that I saw an immense gap⁷⁵ resembling an hollowed sphere. It had a

⁷⁵ See Plat. p. 590. vol. ii. par. 1624. In his Treatise of SOCRATES'S Demon, where one TIMARCHUS, desirous,

darkness, not still, but thick and agitated. I shook at the dreadful noises of beasts, and groans of men and women, that issued from an unfathomable depth. At last all was hushed, and a small voice pronounced some obscure words, by way of answer to my interrogatories, that are not worthy to be blotted on my paper. As soon as the voice ceased, I was dragged out of the cell, passed a severe examination, and having refreshed myself in the temple, we, the next morning at break of day, took our leave of TROPHONIUS and his priests.

In my way back to Delphi, I made a vow by the hallowed groves of our prophet, that I would not again torture my imagination to find questions for an oracle, convinced more than ever, that a man's own sagacity is the only demon to be trusted in real difficulties.

Whence it proceeds, ORSAMES, I cannot tell, but there is something in darkness that calls up the fears, and disturbs the cheerfulness, of human nature. For which reason I am often offended at those who represent a secret grot, or a gloomy cavern, as the immediate place of his presence, whose most perfect emblem is the radiant MITHRAS, exposed for ever in the glorious concave of the heavens, to engage the eyes and worship of the rational part of his creation.

LETTER

to be instructed in the nature of it, is said to have visited TROPHONIUS, and seen an allegorical vision, which is related and explained at large.

LETTER CXXIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe.*

I No sooner received information that the plague, which has raged the whole summer at Athens with great violence, was considerably abated, than I determined to set out on my return thither; and as the roads at that season of the year are much infested with parties of soldiers, both of the Peloponnesian and Athenian allies, I took hold of an opportunity, which fortune threw in my way, to join the train of CALLIAS and NAUSICLES, the Athenian deputies to the assembly of the Amphictyons, who were preparing for their journey home at the same time with myself. I experienced the good effects of travelling under their protection; for, upon the borders of the territories of Attica, we fell in with a party of Boeotian light-horse, who were scouring the country: the deputies immediately sent to acquaint the commanding officer with their character, which, by the law of nations, and the general practice of the Greeks, was sufficient to secure them and their retinue from any arrest or vexation in their passage. The officer behaved with great politeness on this occasion, and prevented, by his authority, the violence with which the rough soldiers, greedy of spoil, were preparing to lay us under contribution. The rest of our journey passed without any remarkable

incident. The morning after our arrival, CALLIAS and NAUSICLES made a report, first in the senate, and afterwards before the assembly of the people, of their behaviour in the Amphictyonic council, as representatives of the commonwealth of Athens. They gave in the roll of contributions which were laid upon all the Grecian states, for the enlargements and repairs of the temple of Delphi, and the particular sum which Athens was obliged to furnish towards her part in carrying on so pious a work. They related a speech made by the deputies of Corinth against the Athenians, for erecting a chapel in the temple of Delphi, in memory of the battle near Naupactus; which concluded with a motion, that a fine should be set upon them by the Amphictyons, for the celebrating victories of the Greeks over each other, in the same place where their conquests over barbarians alone were consecrated to posterity. But NAUSICLES exerted himself with such activity in opposition to it, by showing, amongst other things, that the Athenians had done nothing unprecedented, but only followed the example of the Boeotians, who erected statues in the same temple, after the defeat of the Athenians at Tanagra; that the Corinthians were forced to drop their motion. When the report was finished, the people unanimously approved what had been done in their name by CALLIAS and NAUSICLES, and likewise decreed them crowns of gold, for their vindication of Athens against the unjust aspersions of the Corinthians. Their embassy

expired with the usual compliment of being invited to a public entertainment in the Prytanæum.

The plague is by this time entirely ceased; and indeed it abated gradually with the heats of the summer. I asked HIPPOCRATES, what number he thought it had destroyed? He told me, by the most exact computation he could make, it had carried off no less than four thousand four hundred citizens, (not to mention strangers,) amongst whom the order of the Hippeis had lost three hundred for their share. So terrible a depopulation, one should think, noble scribe, would inspire this state with humble and moderate sentiments, and a desire of restoring the tranquillity of Greece. But this is so far from being the case, that their spirits are more raised than ever, by a relation sent hither by DEMOSTHENES, of a defeat which the Acarnanians and Argives, under his conduct, have given to the Ambracians and Peloponnesians under that of EURYLOCHUS.

The Ambracians having entered Acarnania with eight thousand heavy-armed foot, took possession of a fort called Olpis, which is built on the top of a hill not far from the sea. There EURYLOCHUS joined them with a body of Peloponnesians, who, by marching through by-ways, escaped the vigilance of some Acarnanian troops, that lay in wait to intercept them. A few days after this junction, a squadron of twenty Athenian ships appeared in the gulph of Ambracia, and DEMOSTHENES, with an army

of Acarnanians and Argives, (to whom were added three hundred Messenians and sixty Athenian archers,) came up, and pitched his camp in sight of the enemy. The two armies remained quiet two days, but early on the sixteenth began an engagement that lasted till evening. DEMOSTHENES with great judgment foreseeing where the fires of the action must lie, placed four hundred Peltastai, or Targeteers, in a hollow way covered with bushes, which extended itself along the flank of his right wing. The enemy's left making a motion to surround him, met with a vigorous resistance in front, and was charged at the same time so briskly in the rear by the ambuscade, that, after a short dispute, they threw down their arms and fled. EURYLOCHUS himself was killed in endeavouring to rally his men. In another part of the field the enemy's right wing, composed chiefly of Ambracians, who are reckoned the most warlike people in those parts, broke the left of DEMOSTHENES, and pushed it to the walls of Argos; but returning in disorder from the pursuit, the Athenian general advanced against them with his victorious troops, and obliged them to take refuge within the walls of Olpis. The next morning MENEDATUS, who succeeded EURYLOCHUS in the command, proposed to DEMOSTHENES to surrender the fortress, upon condition that he should be permitted to retire with the Peloponnesian forces only; to which the latter consented, with a view of rendering the Lacedæmonians odious amongst their allies for deserting the

Ambracians. DEMOSTHENES, after setting up a trophy and burying his dead, decamped with his army to oppose the remainder of the Ambracian forces, who, he had received intelligence, were marching to the assistance of their countrymen. He found them engaged in the straits of Idomene, where his superior skill in the art of war, and a perfect knowledge of the country, enabled him to gain a complete victory. For having sent a detachment to seize the passages of the mountains, he marched with the rest along the great road, and beat up the Ambracian quarters so suddenly, that the outguards made but very little resistance; the rest were soon routed, and a miserable slaughter made of them. Those who attempted to escape were killed or taken by the Acarnanian parties, who had beset the ways. Others, rather than surrender to their worst enemies, chose to cast themselves into the sea, and swim for safety to the Athenian ships, which were cruising on that coast. In short, on this occasion the republic of Athens has acquired great glory. Her general (who, in token of his victories, has sent hither two hundred suits of armor) recovered his reputation; and the Ambracians received irreparable damages. DEMOSTHENES adds in his letters, that this success might be attended with greater advantages; but that the Acarnanians, preferring their old neighbourhood to that of an Athenian colony, are on the point of concluding an accommodation with the Ambracians,

at which this state is, with good reason, dissatisfied.

Thou mayst imagine, potent lord, I was not a little surpris'd at the arrival of ZOPYRUS here from Ephesus in a Phœnician ship. What inducement he has had to seek the Athenian protection, after quitting the Persian court in so abrupt a manner, I am unable to discover; but in his daily conversation, he throws off every mark of duty and allegiance to his sovereign, by setting forth the facility of seizing some advantageous port in the Persian dominions, and proffering his service to conduct a colony of Athenians to any upon which it may be thought proper to make an attempt. From the opinion which the better sort of citizens have formed of his character, and their unwillingness to entangle themselves in disputes with the great king, at a juncture when the war now on foot demands their whole attention, I should conjecture, that this republic will enter into none of his projects. But whether the hopes of gain may not allure private adventurers to embark with him in some desperate enterprise, I shall not pretend to determine. However, thou mayst depend on the earliest notice of his motions; and I think PYTHON should be talked to on this subject. That minister sent hither early information of the army and fleet preparing in the Persian provinces; and by the decrees pass'd in the assembly before my return from Delphi, he will be furnished with sufficient materials for a conference. I am well assured that the

senate have taken great alarm at some secret advices from their emissaries in Thebes and Sparta. Some of the principal members, with whom I converse, intimate their suspicions, that the Lacedæmonians will not be so scrupulous as themselves about giving up the Greek cities in Asia; because the Ionian colonies are related to the Athenians by extraction. And indeed, as the Persian ministry have, in all their negotiations, laid great stress on this point, an alliance with Lacedæmon would be the most desirable measure. At the same time, whatever views they may have about extending the commerce of the empire, and rendering the islands in the *Ægean* sea dependent upon the monarch of Asia, will be best answered by weakening the naval strength of the Athenians.

The elections for magistrates were over, as usual, on the first of the month Hecatombeon; they have gone chiefly in *CLEON*'s favor: Thou wilt perceive by a list of them, which I send enclosed, that *PHILOCRATES* is chosen first Archon, and *CLEON*, *NICIAS*, *EURYMEDON*, *SOPHOCLES*, and four others, generals for the year ensuing. The two last of those above-named are going with a fleet of forty ships to the relief of the *Corcyreans*, whose exiles have lately fortified themselves in the mountains, and lay waste the country with fire and sword.

Noble scribe, if my nephew *CHARICLES* of Ephesus, who will deliver this dispatch into thy hands, should find favor in thy sight, I shall reckon it the greatest happiness that can

besal him. He is a young man of prudence, activity, and address; whom thou wilt find not unintelligent in the affairs of Greece, and extremely desirous to be ranked amongst thy dependents. Less than this I could not say of him, because of his real merit; and were I to add more, his near relation to me might appear to have blinded my judgment in his favor.

From Athens. P.

LETTER CXXIV.

CLEANDER to BAGOAS, *Chief Eunuch in the Palace of ARTAXERXES.*

THOU, who hast spent thy life within walls, where resides perpetual tranquillity, and none but the softer passions are allowed to enter, wouldest be but little entertained by a long detail of a puzzling treaty, or the view of a bloody field, where the lives of thousands have been sacrificed to the ambition of their leaders. But thou wilt hear with pleasure of the success of my negotiations in the traffic of beauty, and the fair victims I have collected from every quarter of Greece, for the Fane of Love, where thou presidest. In my late journies over this country I have still been attentive to thy commission; and I will venture to affirm, that I have now embarked for Ephesus thirty as accomplished virgins, as ever

adorned the inner chambers of the palace. How will thy wrinkles, venerable eunuch, soften into a smile, when thou receivest them from their covered chariots at the secret gate? Amongst the orange trees upon the steps of the marble fountain, thou wilt examine with taste their different charms; and, after a strict examination, rank them in their several orders. Happy old man! who, cool and unconcerned, canst leisurely throw thy eyes over such enchanting forms, and feel only the quiet joy of administering to the pleasures of thy master.

Thou wilt easily distinguish the Ionian beauties from their graceful movements in the dance, and their submitting with less reluctance to thy curious regards. The more shy Athenians will please thee by the peculiar sweetness of their accent, and the masterly manner in which they touch the lyre. But the blooming islanders, the daughters of CHIOS and LESBOS, will strike thee most by the symmetry of their features, their long flowing tresses, their large black eyes, and the elegant magnificence of their dress.

To contrast these, there are three more northern beauties from the banks of the Strymon, with fair complexions and golden hair. There is one thou must look upon as a curiosity; a Spartan, daughter of one of the Ephori, whom my friend, the Trierarch PHILOCLES, carried off in a descent upon the coast of Peloponnesus. CHELONIS expresses all the haughtiness of her country, and her quality, in her countenance; accompanied with a manly kind of

beauty, which, though it commands respect, by no means excludes love.

The tender LEONTIUM I must recommend to thy peculiar care, and beg thou wilt present her in my name to the chamberlain HYDASPES. He, who shows so elegant a taste in his gardens, his furniture, and his amusements, is no less refined in his more secret pleasures; nor will refuse to accept this token of my gratitude, so well suited to his delicacy. The ingenuous sweetness of her countenance, and the nobleness of her demeanour, prove her to be what her story pretends she is. The pirate of Scyrus, who sold her, and had brought her up, assured me, that when he took her in a cruise off Eubœa, she was wrapped up in a rich mantle, and wore a bracelet set with gems; but he could learn no particulars relating to her, because the nurse and the rest of her attendants perished in the engagement. Conscious of the state from which she is fallen, she retains an air of melancholy, which my friend's humanity is so fitted, and will be so pleased, to dispel.

The twenty slaves, whom I have chosen to attend these virgins, are well versed in the various arts so much esteemed in the palace of the queens. Some form an agreeable concert on all kinds of instruments; others are skilful at the loom, and trace out the most beautiful patterns for the richest embroidery. Others prepare perfumes, and are practised to attend at the bath. The three Corinthians I purchased out of the house of the most

magnificent courtesan in that city. They are taught all the niceties of dress; to braid the hair, to adjust the robe, to tie the sandal, and know all those curious secrets which heighten or preserve beauty.

Give me leave to be a little vain, upon my having thus added to the number of thy fair subjects. Happy subjects! under such a guardian; removed from the dangers to which helpless beauty is exposed, from the perplexing cares of life, the tumultuous fallies of ungoverned love, and the raging passions of disagreeing rivals, they are placed in the awful sanctuary of innocence and purity, where the profane cannot enter; they enjoy all the delights of a well-ordered magnificence. Awed by thy discipline, made easy by thy gentleness, their minds are ever serene and cheerful; their affections ever tempered and regulated; their power of pleasing is directed to one object; their ideas of happiness, all their transports, centre in one lord. When instructed by thy lessons, and purified with oil of myrrh and sweet odors ⁷⁶, they approach his bed; how are their hearts elated to meet the embraces of a monarch, who can reward their attention to please him with the revenues of a province! But the fortunate fair, in whom the king delights, who is again summoned from the second house of the women, partakes the highest honors that a mortal can receive; the

⁷⁶ Vide *Esther*, cap. iii.

bonds of captivity fall instantly from her hands, and the imperial tiara encircles her head. Adieu.

From Athens, the 17th of Mæmacterion.
P. and W.

LETTER CXXV

GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe, etc. to CLEANDER,*
at Athens. From Susa.

THOU takest the surest way to silence the calumnies of thy enemies, by continuing to discharge the duties of thy employment to the entire satisfaction of those who wish thee well; and hast given the king and supreme council fresh proofs of thy sufficiency in business, by the variety and importance of thy Delphic dispatches.

The domestic tranquillity which we enjoy at present, the good order established through the several provinces of the empire, and the flourishing condition of our troops and finances, give us leisure to look abroad, and survey the posture of affairs in foreign nations. The king, we hope, will soon be able to determine, from the negotiations now carrying on, to which side of the contending Grecian states the influence of his arms must be carried. And how near matters draw towards a conclusion, thou wilt be better able to judge, when I

have related to thee the result of some conferences between myself and PYTHON, and the advices lately sent by CRATIPPUS from Sparta. Not many days ago, PYTHON made me a visit, and told me, that his republic having received information, that a large body of forces was to assemble early in the spring near Sardis, had sent him express orders to obtain a categorical answer from the ministers, as to their destination; since the people of Athens had reason to apprehend that they were designed against the Grecian colonies in Asia, which, by CIMON's treaty, were rendered independent of Persia. I replied, that the king, my master from his regard and observance of treaties, particularly of one so disadvantageous to himself, for a course of many years, had not deserved, without strong grounds, to be suspected of an intention to violate them; that I could not help thinking this peremptory demand was started a little unseasonably; and that it looked very much as if his state sought occasions for a rupture, by forcing a disagreeable answer from the king; that I would, however, assure him, that these troops, which were not numerous enough to give umbrage to the Athenians, were not designed, either against them or any of their allies, unless by their behaviour they obliged the king, against his inclination, to commence hostilities. PYTHON did not seem satisfied with this answer; and, amongst other objections to it, said, it was plain the empire was preparing some great stroke, as it was well known, that, besides this army at land,

a powerful fleet was equipping in the ports of Phœnicia. I replied, with an appearing warmth, that it was true a Squadron was fitting out to protect the commerce of our trading subjects, which was miserably disturbed and interrupted by the Peloponnesian and Athenian navies; that daily representations were made to the ministers from the most eminent merchants, that their vessels were stopped and searched, the effects seized, and even the men imprisoned, by the ships of war belonging to both parties, under pretence that they were carrying arms and provision to their enemies. I assured him, the king could no longer suffer these violences, but would think himself unworthy the crown he wore, if he did not protect the properties and persons of his subjects, and insist upon ample reparation of the damages they sustained.

PYTHON desired me to consider, that these were inconveniences unavoidably attending neutral powers in a state of war; that many of the insolences complained of are committed for the sake of gain by particular officers, without the consent, or even knowledge, of their principals; and that if I would give him a list of the sufferers, and an estimate of their losses, he was sure the Athenians would give satisfaction to those who were unjustly oppressed. He added, that he was concerned to find me more disposed to inflame than accommodate matters between our masters; and that it was purely to avoid it, he had omitted making complaint, as he was ordered, that the Persian vessels frequented the seas between

the Cyanian and Chelidonian islands, in direct violation of the tenth article of the peace of CIMON. I told him, it was probable the merchant ships might take that course in their voyages; but that was not contrary to the treaty, which only says, that the Persians should not sail in those seas *σὺν μαχηταῖς ναύσι*, "with ships of war." After some altercation between us, on the manner in which this article was complied with, he represented one while, that the Greeks would make it a common cause, if the two fundamental stipulations in CIMON's peace (the independence of the Asiatic colonies, and the restraint on our navigation) were broken through; at another time, that the Athenians, provided they could gain the good will of the king of Persia, would soften the rigor of them. But at last he said plainly, that the commonwealth of Athens hoped we would not take part in the differences between them and the Lacedæmonians, as not being at all interested therein; but if we were resolved to interfere, they had as good pretensions to our friendship as any other Grecian state. I said, if the Athenians had any overtures to make, they might send an embassy to propose them in express terms; but that talking in general of the regard and esteem which his republic had for the king, without entering upon particulars, tended only to amuse and create distrust. As PYTHON had nothing more to offer, our conference ended; and I easily perceived his chief intent was to sound our designs, and by throwing out some

softening hints of the amicable disposition of Athens, prevent any immediate resolution to break with them.

NICANDER still preserves that roughness and singularity in his behaviour, with which he began his embassy. He scarcely ever stirs out of his house, makes no acquaintance in the court, and seldom confers with me. CRATIPPUS writes me word, that his own state is so ill satisfied with the dry uninforming dispatches they receive from him, that they intend to supply his place, towards the beginning of next spring, with some abler ministers, who will have it in charge to propose to us terms of the highest advantage, in exchange for our friendship. It seems they repent the abrupt manner in which the negotiation was broken off last year; and STHENELEIDAS, the Ephorus, the great promoter of the war, and the present director of their counsels, has most heartily declared himself for calling in our assistance, rather than fail in the main point of reducing the power of Athens.

I have endeavoured to trace out the unaccountable flight of ZOPYRUS; and I learn by intercepted letters, and by other intelligence, that, after making the best of his way to Ephesus, he took shipping there; and it is not yet known, whither he directed his course. If, as we have reason to suspect, he concludes his ramble at Athens, I know thou wilt be vigilant in examining his conduct and designs, and acquainting us with the encouragement he receives: not that we apprehend any danger,
either

either from his interest at home, or address abroad; but in such cases, precaution is always useful.

I congratulate thee, CLEANDER, that thou closest the year in quiet and safety, which, by the cabals of thy enemies, threatened thee at its setting out with the storms of faction. If to be honored with the favor of the prince, confirmed in the esteem of the ministers, and supported by the zealous endeavours of friends, are the proper incitements of industry and rewards of merit, thy situation is of all others the most fortunate. Farewel.

P.

LETTER CXXVI.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

SOME of my friends here, a few days ago, accidentally fell into a dispute about the comparative excellence of the two sexes. It was occasioned by one who ventured to call in question that natural title to superiority, which we had all along in so peremptory a manner claimed to ourselves. He maintained, that there was no distinction of sexes in the soul; that in both it was equally capable of improvement; and that the visible pre-eminence on our side was entirely to be resolved into the greater degree of care and culture that had been bestowed upon us. He made some doubt, whether the other sex were naturally, and

before the acquired softness which they had derived from education, less able to undergo the more hardy and laborious employments, which are now appropriated to us under the name of manly. However, added he, intellectual capacity has plainly no sort of dependance upon the vigor and weakness of the animal constitution; since in our sex the greatest strength of understanding is often to be observed in bodies of the most tender and delicate make. But as example and experience may be supposed to have much more weight in this matter than any kind of abstract reasoning, he supported his opinion by the instance of the celebrated ASPASIA; a woman whose attainments in the whole circle of sciences have exceeded the most improved geniuses, in an age and country which think they have made the greatest advancement in knowledge of any other. As she is yet alive in this city, though age has taken off the bloom of her person, and the death of PERICLES diminished her interest in it, it may not perhaps be a disagreeable entertainment to acquaint thee with some of the more distinguishing parts of her character, and inform thee of such remarkable circumstances relating to her, as conversation with herself or others may have helped me to the knowledge of.

ASPASIA is a native of Miletus, more famous than any other city of Ionia for the number of extraordinary persons it has produced. This doubtless cannot so probably be accounted for from any efficacy of the climate, as from the assistance education may bestow, or the

encouragement that arts may receive in one place above another. Her quality I find not altogether settled; many of her own sex dwell with some pleasure on the supposed obscurity of her birth, as a circumstance that throws something of a shade over the lustre of her character; and speak with more certainty than perhaps they ought, of the lowness of her descent, to take her down from that envied height of greatness to which her virtues have raised her above the rest of her contemporaries. Nor is it agreed what was the chief motive of her coming to Athens: some suggest that this was the most likely place for her advancement, as a theatre on which her literary qualities might be displayed with the most success. But the same reason might probably draw her hither which has drawn so many others of any curiosity or ambition to excel in knowledge, the desire of improving herself in a place of the most allowed reputation for learning. However, all agree to speak of her as one in whom are united the highest endowments of mind and body; the utmost brightness of parts and beauty of person; the one heightened and recommended by all that ease and grace which travel and acquaintance with the best company bestow; the other improved by a careful use of all those advantages which a free converse with all the celebrated wits of Greece could give her. Her thoughts were not confined within the narrow province of domestic business, nor laid out in acquiring those more showy and superficial accomplishments, which

too often engage the whole attention of that sex. She had gained an early acquaintance with every part of useful literature ; but her favorite studies, to which she had devoted more care and pains, were philosophy and politics. ANAXAGORAS, one of the first credit for his attainments in natural knowledge, was not esteemed superior to her in that one point, to which the chief inquiries of a whole life had been directed ; and the ablest statesmen in Athens do not better understand the constitution of the several cities of Greece, or more readily discern those nice conjunctures and dependencies which make up their respective interests. She is supposed to have imitated the manner, and in some measure to have formed herself upon the pattern of TRAGELIA, her country-woman ; one of great art and intrigue, who, by her abilities and address, had insinuated herself into the confidence of many leading men in Greece, learnt their sentiments in public matters, and, by disposing many of them by degrees to think more favorably of the designs of the great king, attached them at length to his service. But of all her high qualities, what could not fail of recommending her to the greatest notice and favor under such a government, is, her admirable eloquence, and absolute command over the opinions and affections of the hearers. No wonder, that one of so uncommon a capacity should draw after her, numbers of such an inquisitive nation, to hear her lessons of morality, and to be witnesses of her power

of persuasion! But is it not wonderful, HYDASPES! that she, who so perfectly knows, and can so admirably explain, the excellence of virtue, should be so little influenced by it, as she is represented to have been in her own conduct? That she, who had so entire an ascendancy over the passions of others, should be so far wanting in regulating her own? Some of the most considerable persons here do not, however, disdain to pay her a constant attendance, for the sake of their own improvement; and nothing surely can give one a more exalted idea of ASPASIA's accomplishments, than that SOCRATES, the most rational of the Grecian philosophers, and scarcely inferior to our renowned ZERDUSHT, can learn from her new maxims of wisdom; than that PERICLES, the ablest speaker and most consummate statesman, should apply to her to be further improved in the arts of eloquence, and more perfectly instructed in the interests of Athens. These qualifications gained so far by degrees on the affections of PERICLES, as to give great disturbance to his wife, a woman of some rank and spirit. They agreed therefore to part, that each might be at liberty to make a second choice; for the severer laws of Athens allow not our sex to follow the freer practice that prevails in Persia, and to assert the privilege of a plurality of wives, which is uncontested through all the countries of the East. He was married to her immediately after this separation; and many instances are remembered of the extraordinary love which he always expressed for

her. She had the address constantly to maintain the influence she had over him, but (as it was said) not the honor to make use of it on such occasions only, as were advantageous to his character, or serviceable to his country. I know many persons are of opinion, but I believe without the least foundation, that he was prevailed on by her to engage Athens in a war, in which its interests were no way concerned, in favor of the Milesians against the people of Samos. It is certain, that she attended him hither, and erected some public monuments in memory of his conquests; and it is supposed (but ridiculously) that she had a share in that celebrated harangue, made in honor of such Athenians as were slain in the first year of the war.

But PERICLES was soon after obliged, not only to exert all the powers of his eloquence, but to try the last efforts of his interest and importunity with the judges in her favor, when, upon the complaint of HERMIPPUS, she was publicly accused of impiety, and leading a debauched and dissolute life, by ministering to the pleasures of the young Athenians. The former part of the charge at Athens is by no means, I think, the worst imputation upon her character; since the explication of natural appearances has been understood here to imply a disbelief of the Deity, and it has been dangerous to assert, that the sun, the throne and residence of the radiant MITHRAS, is a mass of fire no bigger than Peloponnesus.

Aspersions are sometimes cast upon ASPASIA's character, as one whose soul is, they pretend, of too elevated a kind to stoop to the common concerns of household affairs, and who has too extensive views to shew any regard to matters of so confined and inferior a nature. But these are the suspicions of such who speak rather from general observation, than any particular knowledge of ASPASIA. Many, who know her, affirm, that her great capacity for public business does not hinder her paying a proper attention to the private duties of domestic life; nor her skill in the movements of the planetary system, give any interruption to the good order and œconomy of her own family.

After the death of PERICLES she married LYSICLES, one of mean parts and parentage. Though this circumstance of her life gives one no very admirable idea of her temper or character, yet it will help to shew thee what uncommon address and incredible dexterity she is mistress of. For her new husband, though neither recommended by the dignity of his birth, nor his talents for business, though not supported by the splendor of his fortune, or the interest of his friends, is advanced, by her sole credit and contrivance, to the highest offices and honors in the state. Adieu.

LETTER CXXVII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. *From Athens.*

I SEND thee, noble scribe, what thou wilt permit me to call a very valuable present; because I am sure thy wisdom will esteem it such. It is no less than a transcript of the laws of SOLON. They have been so universally celebrated over Europe, that not many years ago a certain city on the banks of the Tiber, scarcely known in these polished parts of the world, sent solemn deputies to Athens, who were indulged in copying them, and carried home the precious charge in triumph to their countrymen. This distinction was justly due to their pre-eminence over those of all other states; nor can any thing raise in thee an higher veneration for them, except thou listenest to what the Athenians themselves pretend, that the world owes to Attica the invention of laws. So absurd an assertion is equally ridiculous with that concerning their own original from the soil they dwell upon, as it supposes that legal justice and subordination were not dictated to all men by the common voice of nature and condition of society. Both traditions arose from the same principle of vanity, perhaps too in the same barbarous age of superstition; and operate in the same manner on a credulous and proud people. This, however, is an idle speculation, and affects not the merit

of the Athenian pandect; for I am convinced, a better than theirs was never formed, for the propagation of personal virtue, and the establishment of a popular religion; nor can any more effectually promote the various, yet connected interests of *liberty* and *commerce*, those main pillars of national felicity. One piece of policy will please thee, among many instances which thou wilt observe of it in their statutes; I mean the brevity prevailing in the forms of drawing them, and the forbearing to recite the motives that produced each of them. The former leaves no room for evasion or obscurity; the latter prevents litigiousness, because every reason expressed by the legislator is the foundation of many suits, and all men chuse to obey the laws upon their own reasons.

If any institution seems blamable, it is that which makes ingratitude a legal crime. I know it has afforded a fair field of panegyric to the flatterers of Athens, as well for its singularity, as the sanction it receives from private conscience; but to me it has always appeared either wholly unnecessary, or attended with inconveniences. It is unnecessary, because we must acknowledge it enough (if we consider it) that the generality of legislators endeavour to restrain us from violations of right; and as to every thing that concerns the duties of humanity, send every man to his own breast for information. He who is acquainted with those actions which procure reputation or disgrace, knows the natural infamy accompanying the ungrateful. He knows, that such an one must

feel the pangs of remorse, and the vapors of solitude: he knows too, that such characters are rarely found; for if Providence has made not only our reason, but our weaknesses, prompt us in many cases to a beneficence almost disinterested, then certainly much more to gratitude.

These indeed are the natural sanctions of this amiable virtue, and, one would think, of sufficient force to secure us from any violations of it. But should it be suggested, that such violations occur sometimes in society, I grant that they sometimes occur, and, I believe, could maintain, that they are provided against incidentally by the laws of all states; for they are often so interwoven with crimes of injustice, as at once to aggravate both the crime and the penalty. So far then, in every country, as they are understood to be aggravations of injustice, they are the objects of the magistrate's care. As to acts of unmixed and downright ingratitude, they seldom happen; and whenever they do, must be left for punishment to the hatred of mankind, the reproofs of reason, the torments of conscience, and the sanctions of religion. The civil magistrate ought not to interpose; because while they do not immediately affect the peace or rights of society, his interposition would bring on a thousand inconveniencies. No court of judicature can with such propriety define the proportion of one benefit to another, as they can compare the nature of contested claims. Those proportions would be rated differently

in the forum of justice and the forum of conscience ; for if justice restores to every man no more than his due , and gratitude often exceeds the real value of a favor , in the return it makes for it ; then , upon the principles of justice , no magistrate could oblige me to overpay a benefit , though upon the principles of gratitude I should think myself frequently obliged to do so. And if it be said , that in cases which relate to either , the magistrate must decide according to the rules of each ; yet the intention of the legislator most certainly was , that points of gratitude should be determined according to the rules of justice ; since , on the contrary supposition , the doing a slight favor to another might be used as an artful way of extorting a return for it , much greater than its value. So that if the magistrate is willing to avoid various ill consequences , which would flow from a different method of determination , he must consider cases of gratitude in the light of pecuniary debts. For which reason the jurisdiction of the magistrate , as to such cases , must operate imperfectly. The proceedings of the forum of conscience and of justice most evidently interfere , and no attempt should be made to unite them. The principles of justice would be forgot , if those of gratitude were always observed ; and the very *nature* of gratitude would be destroyed , if weighed by the rules , as its *grace* would be lost , if it were enforced by the penalties , of justice. Such a law then sounds prettily in the words , yet , when examined , is nothing but sound. It

tends to make the intercourse of benefits among friends as mercenary, as the exchange of commodities in the dealings of merchants. It sets men on their guard against each other; and gives them a reserve in accepting kindnesses, lest they should be called upon by law to return them; and therefore undermines the principle it was intended to support. Excellent minister, thou wilt forgive the peculiarity of my sentiments; I know they are inconsistent with a law established in Persia, and a law in Egypt; but, if I mistake not, they are deducible both from the reasonings of speculative philosophers, and the practice of wise legislators.

The Athenians are commendable for not confining the judges in their determinations to the strict letter of the law. In all states the extremities of too much law, and too little, are to be equally avoided. Discretion and fixed law should be mingled together; the former to provide against particular cases that may arise, and could not be foreseen; the latter to be a general rule of action: the one may moderate or add to the rigor of the law; the other prevents ignorance, disobedience, fickleness in the people; in the judges, it prevents favor, hatred, or corruption. For, in order to deter the magistrate from bending the law in such a way as to break it, I am content the magistrate should be in the power of the law, while a discretionary power is vested in the magistrate. And should it be objected, that the situation of the magistrate

would be dangerous and precarious, if he were liable to be called to an account for the exercise of this discretionary power, it may well be answered, that it is fit the state should have an eye over his actions, and that an appeal should lie from his tribunal to the dernier resort. If it appears in some cases that his judgments are wrong, and that nevertheless he gave them according to conscience and his opinion, the judgment may be reversed, without any infamy attending the judge. But if it appears that he has been biased by evil motives to give even a right determination, then he deserves to be punished with severity. Such salutary provisions as these, against the licentiousness of a bad magistrate, can never become restraints on the freedom of a good one. In Persia, as all subordinate judicatures are derived from the sovereign, so they are under his immediate inspection; for he communicates his authority, without quitting the throne, or sharing it with any one. And certainly the wisdom and power of a great prince must be much more awful to a magistrate, than the divided councils of a popular assembly. How moving is that lesson of integrity to the passion of fear, which may be learnt from the exemplary punishment inflicted by CAMBYSES on a corrupt judge! He ordered his body to be flayed after his death, and that the seat in the court where he presided, and where his son succeeded him, should be covered with the skin. Thus the very chair became a constant monitor of duty to the magistrate.

The laws of Persia, noble GOBRYAS, excel those of Athens in one point, which is esteemed the perfection, and almost the definition of a free government; "that they indulge the "greatest liberty of accusing, with the least "of calumniating." For in Athens, if an accusation is found to be false and malicious, the accuser is only fined in a certain sum of money; whereas in Persia he suffers all those punishments which would have been inflicted on the accused, had the accusation been made out. I never reflect on the illustrious instance which our monarch once gave of his impartial regard to this law, without being wrapt in admiration of such exalted virtue. One of his favorites, thou knowest, attempted formerly to make him suspect the honesty of a faithful officer. The officer was imprisoned; the charge being examined, proved groundless, and the king turned his whole indignation on the perfidious informer. He wisely saw, that to have done otherwise would have been to open a door to envy, revenge, and defamation; to arm malice with the public authority; and to deprive the throne of its most sacred character, "the protection of innocence from specious "calumnies, or lawless oppression."

C.

LETTER CXXVIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

THOU hast encouraged me, noble scribe, to transmit many papers of a political kind to the court of Persia. I will now open to thee the rise and progress of the constitution of Athens, since it is well worth thy notice. They give no account of themselves before OGYGES, and that is sufficiently romantic. They speak of his age in the highest terms of foolish admiration; and affirm, that when the rest of the world was in a state of ignorance and darkness, they were flourishing in arts and power. But after a reign of thirty-two years, a flood swept away not only their cities and historical records, but both the monarch and the people. After a long interval of time, CECROPS, with some followers, came out of Ægypt, and settled in Attica, where they united into a small community. This prince built a town, which he called after himself, CECROPIA, on the rock where the citadel now stands, and instituted four tribes. In the reign of CECROPS the second, they talk of twelve little cities, which were dispersed over the country, each of them enjoying separate privileges and immunities. Cecropia was the capital, where the king resided, to whom, in cases of difficulty or of danger, the subjects dutifully applied. I will not insist on the hardships through which THESEUS struggled in his way to the kingdom.

It is well known, that after having defeated the sons of PANDION, his grandfather, who contested the sovereignty with him, and freed his country from the yoke of MINOS, he diligently watched over its interests, reformed it, and was properly the first lawgiver who appeared in it. He collected the people into one city, by which means, though he added to their strength, yet he laid a foundation for continual animosities, and gave a lurking principle of death to the constitution. For whenever the body of men that compose the state are united in one city, they must frequently be disturbed by political tempests. In such governments the pursuits of ambition engage every man, from the greatest to the meanest; and hence arises the most factious and unsteady genius of a republic. He established a common court of justice; and to show his reverence to the gods, and especially to the deity from whose name the town was called Athens, he ordained the feast Panathenæa. To give a sanction to his conduct, THESEUS, like other legislators, consulted the oracle, and promised to lay down the regal power, reserving only the military command, and guardianship of the laws, to himself. He divided the Athenians into three ranks, of noblemen, husbandmen, and artificers. The first excelled in honor, the next in riches, and the third in number. These changes were so well received, that no further alteration was made in their affairs, till after the death of CODRUS, by the abolition of kings, who at that time retained only the

the titles of royalty, with no more power than THESEUS, and not so much authority. Perpetual and decennial Archons soon sunk into annual ones; and DRACO was at last nominated, not indeed to alter the general plan of the state, but to make some farther and more particular provision in matters of private right. This man, however, having little knowledge of mankind, and a very bad opinion of them, was unfit for the office; and, with an unparalleled severity, inflicted death for every offence, as well as that of murder. So that it were better to have lived in a state of nature, when the law of retaliation took place, than under the savage system of DRACO. Thou mayst easily conjecture, GOBRYAS, no people could bear this. Within the space of a few years they invested SOLON with an unlimited power over the whole œconomy of their constitution. In the course of my dispatches I have already given thee some account how far he new-modelled it. It is certain he always designed to temper the people by the nobility; and to check the petulance of those who have most interest in the state, by those who have most wisdom in it. His republican plans were somewhat interrupted by the short-lived influence of PISISTRATUS; but on the murder of HIPPARCHUS, and the flight of HIPPIAS, his sons, (the last of whom persuaded DARIUS to the destructive war against the Greeks,) CLISTHENES revived them, and added new laws, both in completion and amendment of the scheme of SOLON.

The greatest blow that ever was given to the firmness and tranquillity of the Athenian government, came from the best man who in any age has lived under it, ARISTIDES; and he was among the first who felt the consequences of it. But it was owing, not to choice, but to necessity; for the people (as I have hinted in a former letter ⁷⁷; grew turbulent at home, being elated with their success abroad at Plataea; so he agreed to admit them to an equal capacity of bearing offices with the three rich orders of the state, who were divided by SOLON, according to the valuation of their fortunes, and had till then composed the senate of four hundred. Hence all orders, contrary to the institution of SOLON, were promiscuously blended, and the senate, not being made up of the natural aristocracy, were in name only distinct from the assembly, but were divested in fact of all separate authority. The Demagogues, who were to report matters from the senate, proposed them, not only to the determination, but to the debate of the people, which to this day maintains two opposite parties in the city. Indeed the balance of the republic was never well fixed, since before the expedition of XERXES it was in danger of falling into an oligarchy, as it has now fallen into the hands of the multitude. Such effects are consequent on two original defects in its settlement: the first is an unequal distribution of property, whence a fluctuation of power

⁷⁷ Letter xiii.

enfues; and the other is an uncertain division of privileges between the senate and people, in the transaction of business, which (joined to the other cause) produces perpetual sedition. As these original faults in the constitution have given rise to disorders in the administration, so a very blamable fault, that took its rise in the administration, is like to bear hard on the constitution. I will explain it to thee fully. Thou knowest it is the aim of this republic, and agreeable to the principles on which it has been founded, to extend its commerce, and increase the number of its dependant states. It is in pursuance of this plan of empire, that the youth, when they enter into the service, take an oath to improve the dominions of Athens to the utmost of their abilities, "while there are vineyards and olive-trees without its limits." How often has it sent forth colonies to build new cities, armies to subdue new countries, and brought home the corn of Ægypt, and the spices of Arabia, in the ships of its wealthy traders! Thus they have raised a name, which is immortal, and accordingly for some time placed themselves at the head of this country. But by cruelty to those who openly acknowledged their power, and arrogance over those who connived at it, they have been forced to contract their views, and, instead of endeavouring to propagate, they are now laboring to preserve their influence.

Noble GORRYAS, behold Athens and Lacedæmon; the one formed for *increase*, and

the other for *preservation* ⁷⁸, acting in contradiction to the express design of their law-givers, and the genius of their states. The one drawn into a posture of mere defence, by its madness in prosperity; the other betrayed into an offensive war ⁷⁹, by its own jealousy and the voice of its allies. Then penetrate into the dark abyss of futurity, and reflect on the ruin of Greece.

C.

LETTER CXXIX.

CLEANDER to HIPPIAS.

THOU art acquainted, doubtless, with the unbounded liberties taken by this people, in censuring the conduct of their great men. When the national vivacity is suffered to evaporate in words, it seldom breaks out into action, and their ministers are safe from the severe penalty of a fine, or the infamy of ostracism. Some restraint, however, is to be wished, notwithstanding it is wisely neglected: for though a privilege of that kind, thus openly indulged, keeps alive the spirit of liberty, yet when carried to its utmost height, it may discourage the honest and able servants of the public, while it makes the proud, the wicked,

⁷⁸ See letter cxviii. towards the conclusion.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

or the ignorant, more irreclaimable, and more desperate. Thou knowest I have professed, ever since my arrival in this city, to converse with all ranks and professions of men in it. The use I would make of this I need not explain to thee, who art as well versed in the knowledge of mankind, as thou art in the sentiments and weaknesses of thy brother. The merchants are so considerable a body in the Athenian commonwealth, that it was impossible for one acting in the double capacity of agent for the great king and HIPPIAS of Ephesus, to omit a particular application to them. I generally walk down to the Piræus one day in the week, where I discourse promiscuously with the various traders of the place, inquire concerning the imports and exports, the prices of commodities, and the number and cargoes of the vessels that come into the harbour, or that go out of it.

I had an opportunity of seeing a remarkable instance of the ruling passion I have spoken of, on occasion of a report which was current on the quay the other morning, that advice was just arrived of the capture of an Athenian ship richly laden, by a Corinthian galley of some force, near Salamis. It was said to be taken in sight of two or three men of war, who were sent out by the admiral of the state on a cruise. I confess it appeared to me, from the circumstances of the story, that neither the admiral nor his officers, much less those who are at the head of affairs, as worthless as their characters, or as fickle as their measures may be,

had been guilty of negligence ; yet they were equally blamed, without judgment or humanity. The heat of conversation drew out a friend, whom I talked with on this subject, into general reflections on the prosecution of the quarrel, the distress of the Athenians, and a most virulent abuse, not only on the present, but even the late leaders of the assembly. “ I am “ convinced (said he) that nothing but a view “ to private interest could have induced PERICLES to so hazardous a step, as engaging with “ the power of all Greece against us! No progress has been made in the war from the “ beginning ; and we are removed further “ from the prospect of peace than at first. All “ possible calamities are suffered in Attica ; our “ enemies insult over our wasted country, and “ never feel the same inconveniences at home. “ Indeed the management is lately turned into “ another channel ; yet the face of affairs is “ not changed. Observe how trade, the life “ and glory of the Athenians, is in all parts “ carried on with danger, and in some prevented entirely. Our intercourse with the “ colonies in Asia is interrupted by the vigilance of the enemy ; our traffic with Egypt “ is at an end. The Hellespont, the Euxine, “ and Aegean seas swarm with the pirates of “ the lesser islands, and infest the passage of “ our ships ; nay, they dare to annoy us in “ the very mouth of the Piræus ; and it is in “ vain that Athens boasts of its superiority at “ sea ; while our strength is either unskillfully “ used, or faintly exerted. For my own part,

" I think nothing more desirable than peace
" to a people that exists by commerce. In
" the mean time, it were worth while for us
" to put the administration of the war into
" hands that may soon bring it to an end, by
" conducting it with activity."

I assure you, it was no easy thing for me
to stop my friend in the career of his eloquence,
to which he had given the reins very freely.
" If my memory (returned I) does not fail
" me, it was an opinion pretty generally held
" before the war broke out, that the Corin-
" thian commerce was increasing so immo-
" derately, that Athens had reason to entertain
" some jealousy. It was said particularly, that
" the Corinthians began to succeed better in
" the importation of corn than this city; and
" for that reason it was even esteemed a for-
" tunate circumstance, that hostilities between
" the Peloponnesians and your state were al-
" most in course inevitable. Nor was it, I
" believe, of little weight in the debates and
" resolutions, which brought on the war, that
" several merchants had presented a petition
" to the assembly, requesting them to enter
" into some method of preventing the decay
" of the corn trade, which is one of your most
" valuable commodities. At that time it was
" farther argued, that you would be able to
" injure the commerce of the Peloponnesians,
" more than it would be possible for them to
" injure yours. Yet you are impatient at the
" least loss of your own, though it be abund-
" antly recompensed by the losses of your

“ enemy. You were then too sanguine to
“ think of the difficulties that attend a war,
“ and you talk inconsistently now. You look-
“ ed upon victory as the inseparable companion
“ of your fleets, and fancied the name of
“ Athens would awe the states of Greece into
“ submission. Behold how the event differs
“ from the expectation! The only resource
“ left for the disappointed is to be angry with
“ their leaders. For as it is usual for the un-
“ successful pilot of a commonwealth to im-
“ pute the faults arising from his own impru-
“ dence to ill fortune, so it is no less usual
“ for those who suffer in the consequence,
“ without being concerned in the management,
“ to impute the faults arising from ill fortune
“ to a want of prudence. Were I to act as a
“ minister on the theatre of the republic, next
“ to my integrity, I own I would comfort
“ myself with this reflection, that the wisdom
“ of THEMISTOCLES, ARISTIDES, CIMON, and
“ PERICLES, could never satisfy the body of
“ Athenian merchants.”

I am sensible, dearest HIPPIAS, thou dost not think thyself concerned in these remarks. Above indulging the rough petulance of pride, or the silly suggestions of ignorance, thou dost not set an extravagant value on thy own importance to thy country, nor forget to make proper allowances for the mistakes of thy governors; remembering, that they judge before the event, and thou judgest after it. The merchants who traffic under the protection of the great king are much fitter subjects for the

comparison which poets have drawn in their fancy, between the industry of bees and that of traders, than the merchants of this city. The latter imitate the frugal inhabitants of the hive in nothing but their attention to wealth; and though they contribute a share of it to support their country, yet murmur and repine at those who dispose of it; while the former, (agreeably to what curious naturalists have observed of the same animals, intent on their proper business, and meddling not with things beyond their reach, if the affairs of their king should require it, would lay the whole of that wealth with pleasure at the foot of his throne.

C.

L E T T E R C X X X.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS.

⁸⁰ **M**Y situation obliges me to a constant neglect of ZERDUSHT's institutions; but his

⁸⁰ The letters of moral and religious speculation in CLEANDER's correspondence may be divided, like the dialogues of PLATO, and the philosophic pieces of other great men of antiquity, into the esoteric and exoteric. Those which contain his inward doctrine, are addressed to ORSAMES; but those of the opposite turn, to SMERDIS. In letter ciii. he tells his friend, the young nobleman, that "his sentiments of all the known modes of popular worship are unsettled;" yet here, and in other epistles to the Mage, we find him scrupulously attached to the

everlasting law shall prevail in my heart, where I cannot make open profession of it. I can here give no outward expressions of my faith, and, to all appearance, am as much an idolater as those I converse with. I dare not so much as put on the badge of our religion, the sacred girdle. I am eyewitness of numberless unnecessary pollutions of the elements; and pass by, without showing disgust, such abominations, as it would ill become me to repeat to the holiest of the Magi. I am satisfied, that the precepts of ZERDUSHT are wise, but cannot always be followed. Many righteous Persians die childless; yet it seems to be enjoined as a duty, that all should leave children behind them. "Children (says the prophet) are a bridge that reaches to Paradise. How shall ye pass over, if ye have provided no bridge? The angel shall ask every soul, if he have provided children; if he answer no, the soul that has contributed so little to society, shall himself be left desolate on the banks of a river, where he shall see the fresh springs and blooming fruits of Paradise, but shall never be able to arrive at them."

"Again, (said ZERDUSHT,) if thou knowest that a corpse is hid in the earth, and sufferest it to lie there, and defile that element, it shall be a scorpion in thy clothes,

little forms and ceremonies of the religion he professed. This can be reconciled on no other supposition, than that he had adopted the double doctrine of his favorites, the Greek philosophers.

"and a serpent in thy bed;" a precept which can by no means be complied with in Greece, where it is the custom to bury all the dead.

The planting of a tree is always a practicable duty, and very useful to posterity. In this particular I have greatly exceeded the commandment; I have a fair garden of fruit-trees near Ephesus to testify it, a long avenue of limes in PHILEMON's estate, a rising grove of pines in Salamis; not to mention that beautiful olive, which I religiously planted in the peaceful gardens of the Magi.

I read the books of our prophet; I thrice a day prostrate myself to MITHRAS; and when I eat I give something to the dogs, to remind me of the duties of charity. Before I wash, or take my rest, or go upon business, or a journey, I use the forms prescribed by ZERDUSHT; and because these compliances are very imperfect, I solemnly observe the feast of CHURDAD to expiate the necessary omissions of duty. I submit with reverence to thy censures, SMERDIS; "for the rebukes of a priest, a parent, and an instructor, shall be received with meekness, (says ZERDUSHT,) for their services can never be repaid."

Happy art thou in the recesses of Badria, guarded by ministering genii, who will not suffer the suspicion of guilt to rest upon thee! Temperance governs thy meals, and sweet sleep attends thy bed. Thou risest before MITHRAS, and awaitest his coming with thy supplications, and liest prostrate before him,

till he has mounted far above the horizon. Thou feedest the sacred fires of BALCH with precious oils, and with odorous flowers and spices, which thou gatherest from the garden of the Magi. At noon, when thou retirest to thy myrtle bower, thou hymnest the praises of OROMASDES, more melodiously than the Thracian ORPHEUS, who, they tell us, appeased the infernal powers with the music of his lyre.

When thou visitest thy solitary cave, all nature lies open before thee. Thou reflectest on the regular change of the seasons that mark of an invariable beneficent Providence. Thou studiest the course of the heavenly bodies, and comprehendest in thy capacious mind that circulation of time which contains all their revolutions. The concave of the heavens thou hast delineated on the arched roof of thy grotto, and adorned the horizon with the emblems of a balance, a rule, and a bridle, to signify weight, measure, and the guidance of OROMASDES.

H.

LETTER CXXXI.

ARTAPHERNES to CLEANDER. *From Sardis.*

I HAVE lately received an order under the imperial signet, which calls me away from this place to assist in the supreme council upon the vacancy by MEGABYZUS's death. The government of Sardis, and the care of the province, are intrusted to PISUTHNES during my absence, who will find all things in a state of perfect tranquillity. Sardis is so strongly fortified, and its magazines are at present so well supplied, that without that fabulous security, to which it trusted in ancient times, it may justly be called to this day the key of the Lesser Asia; and a place of this strength in the hands of faithful governors will always have a great influence over the neighbouring provinces. Excuse me, CLEANDER, if I cannot help recapitulating the circumstances of my own life, and the interesting events in my family, which have in a particular manner engaged my affections to this place. My father, ARTAPHERNES, in joint command with DATIS, revenged upon the Greeks the injury they did to DARIUS, when they reduced this city to ashes; and they have seen it rebuilt by me, the grandson of another ARTAPHERNES, who valiantly held out the citadel against them, while the rest of Sardis was in flames. In the

old city the houses were chiefly built of cane; which was the occasion that the conflagration spread so instantly; but there are now no buildings but of brick or stone. The forum, which was originally a noble design, has been in this reign considerably enlarged. The river Pactolus, thou knowest, runs through the midst of it; and it takes in a view of the Tmolus, with its fruitful vines, and the springs falling down its sides. I have enjoyed here, for the greatest part of my time, a state of ease with dignity. When the province of Lydia was added to my former government, I entered upon a more unquiet scene; but that lasted no longer than to give me an opportunity of approving the zeal and fidelity of my conduct to ARTAXERXES; and I now leave the province with less reluctance, since his service requires it from me.

It was resolved in the council of seven, a little before MEGABYZUS's death, that a body of sixty thousand choice troops should be appointed to encamp near Sardis early in the next spring. By this the Greeks will be made sensible, that Persia is preparing to take a part in the Peloponnesian quarrel, and intends not to let slip so critical a conjuncture, as the present may seem, to cancel the disgrace of former treaties. If my advice shall be of any weight in the councils of Persia, I shall earnestly insist upon the claims already made being adhered to, as conditional to our entering into a league with Sparta. XERXES laid claim even

to the dominion of Greece; because PELOPS, a vassal of his ancestors, had transplanted thither a colony of the Lydians, and subdued the peninsula, called after him the Peloponnesus. I will not take upon me to ascertain his pretensions; since this happened so long ago as under the old Assyrian monarchy. But of this I am sure, that unless our present demands be complied with, of a free navigation on the Grecian seas, and that ARTAXERXES be put in full possession of the colonies in Asia, which are founded upon much more defensible pretensions, there can no league be granted to Sparta, but by our assisting that republic on very dishonorable and disadvantageous terms.

It has been thought expedient, that some experienced officers, who have served in Greece, should review our new-raised forces in their winter quarters, and make improvements in the military discipline after the Grecian manner. This was wisely suggested, and at a very proper time, in a letter to MEGABYZUS. The fatal miscarriages of our undertakings against the Greeks ought indeed to have convinced us, that the arts of war and conquest are to be learnt from our enemies; a truth, CLEANDER, which my father ARTAPHERNES, after many glorious and faithful services, lived to inculcate from his own experience; happy in this at least, that the part he acted was always great, though the fortune of his life was various.

I much applaud myself, CLEANDER, for having recommended thee to the service of

the great king, who with such unwearied diligence hast watched over the affairs of Greece. I am not ignorant that, notwithstanding thou hast deserved so well of Persia, there are some who have shown themselves very insensible of thy merits. But continue to serve our sovereign with the same spirit and resolution, and assure thyself of always finding ARTAPHERNES in the number of thy most zealous friends. Adieu.

L.

LETTER CXXXII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. *From Athens.*

I WAS yesterday morning surpris'd by a visit from ZOPYRUS; and think it my duty, noble scribe, to give thee a recital of the conversation, as I know thou art attentive to his behaviour, not only because of thy personal concern for the family of MEGABYZUS, but because of the consequences of his future rashness or sobriety to thy master and thy country. Thou mayst easily conjecture, that during my residence in the palace of my ever-honored patron, I had contracted some acquaintance with him, for the sake of his own parts and spirit, and of his relation to that great man. I was a good deal struck with seeing him again, after an interval of many years; and though I could

could not receive him otherwise than affectionately, yet, on account of his late proceedings, was willing to show him a little degree of coolness and reserve. He prevented all my questions, by telling me, that he had taken Ephesus in his way from Susa, and had seen my brother HIPPIAS, from whom he learnt that we were embarked together in trade, and that I was settled here to carry on that part of it which depended on the commodities of Greece, while he managed every thing which belongs to the traffic of the East.

As soon as the ordinary compliments were over, his countenance, on a sudden, lost its gaiety, and assumed an air that bespoke a dissatisfied mind. "You may wonder, (said he,) if you have not heard my story, what could draw ZOPYRUS from the seat of his friends and kindred, to engage in the company and projects of bold adventurers; nor when you have heard it, will there be room for wonder." "It is true, (returned I,) no man in Athens can be a stranger to the character or history of MEGABYZUS and his sons; much less can I, whose curiosity would prompt me to inquire into, as well as whose gratitude would make me anxious for, the fate of your illustrious house, be uninformed or uninterested in its honor or reproach." "You know then (replied ZOPYRUS) all that has passed since the death of my father; nor would I chuse, by relating it to you, to trace over in my mind

“ those misfortunes which I wish might be for
“ ever blotted out of my own memory and
“ the annals of posterity. But such is the
“ nature of disgrace, that when it has fallen
“ upon us, it is perpetually haunting our
“ thoughts; since its impressions are more
“ lively and lasting than those of happiness.
“ After the iniquity of APOLLONIDES was dis-
“ covered and punished, I asked the king to
“ bestow on me the government of Damascus;
“ a request in which I fancied myself suffi-
“ ciently supported by my birth and quality,
“ and my diligence in the army. By means
“ of that faction which has been long work-
“ ing in vain to ruin the credit of MEGABYZUS,
“ it was refused me; and though I was civilly
“ told I should one day be remembered, I
“ regarded it as unbecoming the son of a mi-
“ nister who had deserved so well for his
“ abilities, to endure a repulse without re-
“ senting it. In this too I follow his own
“ example, and approve myself the heir of
“ his virtues, who deserted the service of his
“ prince with the same zeal, and from the
“ same principle, which distinguished him
“ from all others, when he acted in it.” “You
“ forget (said I) one part of your father’s
“ conduct, the most honorable part of it, his
“ returning to court and to his duty. Thus
“ you seem to propose a very partial imita-
“ tion of him. Forgive me, ZOPYRUS, that
“ I take upon me the privilege of a friend,
“ and advise you to consider well, before you

“ pursue such measures as may blast those hopes
“ which your country has conceived of you,
“ and put a reconciliation with ARTAXERXES
“ beyond your power. I desire not to enter
“ into the secret policy of your schemes,
“ whether they are well laid, and likely to
“ succeed; or whether they are refined and
“ fantastic.” “ As to these, (answered he,)
“ be under no concern.” “ Yes, (replied I,)
“ you must permit me to be concerned for
“ your safety; nor impute this to an over-
“ diffidence arising from experience, but to a
“ well-timed discretion: for if men in years
“ are apt to be slow in resolving, because
“ they think it difficult to correct the bad
“ consequences of imprudence; remember,
“ that youth, mistaking the reverse of wrong
“ for right, imagine their spirit will make
“ amends for the errors of their judgment.
“ In what way did you leave Susa.” “ I left
“ it (returned he) without desiring an audience
“ of leave, or conferring with any of the
“ ministers. As soon as GOBRYAS delivered
“ me the king’s answer, which, I must con-
“ fess, he did in the most obliging manner,
“ I went abruptly from court, to seek AR-
“ TYPHIUS, my brother, who at that time was
“ in the forest of Nyssa. He endeavoured to
“ give me comfort under my disappointment;
“ but I despised it with reason, and told him,
“ that I saw the administration of affairs would
“ fall into the hands of TERYBAZUS the trea-
“ surer, and BAGORAZES the cup-bearer, my

“ father’s avowed enemies; that he might ex-
 “ pect our family would meet with no encour-
 “ ragement from them; and it were well if
 “ we did not feel the effects of their oppres-
 “ sion. I added, that for my own part I
 “ was determined to be out of their reach,
 “ to court the protection of some foreign
 “ power, or plant a colony in some distant
 “ country. Soon after I set out for Athens,
 “ where I looked for an hospitable reception
 “ from the gratitude of this city to my mo-
 “ ther ⁸¹; and you see I have found it, and
 “ am thankful for it.”

“ Methinks, (answered I,) you were go-
 “ verned by a rash jealousy in mistrusting the
 “ honor of the king, and believing that the
 “ craft of any servant could induce him to neg-
 “ lect the sons and dependants of MEGABYZUS.
 “ How much better had it been for you to have
 “ waited the leisure of our sovereign; nor
 “ thought yourself disgraced in a denial of the
 “ first request! You had now been in possession
 “ of a rich satrapy, or honored with a mark
 “ of distinction. In what state can you expect
 “ to find equal favor or security with that
 “ which Susa can afford you? And as to
 “ founding a colony, you will meet with too
 “ many difficulties to make it either safe or
 “ desirable, and be attended with too few
 “ followers, to prevent it from being absurd or
 “ impracticable. Would not your time have

⁸¹ Vid. Ctes. Fragm.

“ been employed more worthily for a young
“ man, more agreeably to yourself, and in the
“ end perhaps profitably to Persia, in the pur-
“ suit of useful literature with the sages of
“ Greece and Ægypt, in studying the sublime
“ doctrines of ZOROASTER with the Magi, or in
“ learning the art of war under the greatest
“ officers of the East, than in hearkening to
“ the insinuations of flatterers, and following
“ the counsels of the desperate? Is it not pre-
“ posterous for a man to put himself into the
“ hopeless condition of one, who has aban-
“ doned his country for a crime committed
“ in it, by flying at the first unnecessarily in a
“ hasty sally of resentment, and then doing
“ such actions as must banish him for ever
“ from it? But at the same time that I tell
“ you what different things I expected from
“ the innate disposition to virtue, and ex-
“ cellent understanding I have long since ob-
“ served in you, it gives me pleasure to reflect,
“ that you cannot be disgusted at the truth or
“ the freedom of my censures.” “ And you
“ would then (replied he) advise me to re-
“ turn?” “ Without doubt, (said I;) can
“ you act more wisely in respect of ARTYPHIUS
“ and the rest of your relations, (for as to
“ yourself, I will urge nothing farther, as it
“ is, I am convinced, a consideration of the
“ least weight with you,) I say in respect of
“ those whom you so much esteem, can you
“ act more wisely, than in making a proper
“ submission to the court? Will not your

“ rashness bring suspicions upon them, preclude the favors of the king, and perhaps prove at last their ruin?” “ That is impossible (interrupted he with some eagerness). Their success will depend on their own behaviour. CLEANDER, I am never angry with one who seems to wish me well; but I desire you would neither trouble yourself nor me any longer on this subject. You are an incompetent judge of my designs, as you are unacquainted with them; and to step back, when I am advanced so far, would be both timorous and inconsistent.”

Such was our conversation, noble GOBRYAS; such are often the suggestions of a generous mind, misled by youthful vanity, and unfortunately betraying its weakness, when it means to discover its strength. Thus the young ZO-PYRUS, incapable of distinguishing betwixt perseverance and obstinacy, is bent on nothing but acting a consistent part, however indiscreet a one; as if uniformity, for the sake of uniformity, were not a mere imaginary beauty in a great character.

C.

LETTER CXXXIII.

CHARICLES to CLEANDER.

I IMAGINE thou wilt not think I enter into an unnecessary detail, if, besides laying before thee an account of the manner in which I executed thy commissions at Susa, I enlarge my letter with some particulars of my journey thither, and of the state in which I found affairs at my arrival.

I had no sooner saluted my father HIPPIAS and his family at Ephesus, than I set out for Sardis; where, upon informing PISUTHNES, the governor, that I was sent express to court with dispatches from Athens, he gave me immediate orders for post-horses, and the best guides which the province afforded. Under their direction I proceeded forward through Phrygia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Armenia, and Assyria, till I arrived at Susa, stopping no where any longer than was necessary to take refreshments, and change our horses, at the several public stations, which, by the liberality of our monarchs, are erected in such numbers through the provinces for the accommodation of travellers, that (as thou must have observed) there are not less than an hundred and eleven in the road between

SARDIS and SUSA ⁸². Except the inconveniences arising from the fatigue of so long and continued a journey, it was not disagreeable to take a survey, though a transitory one, of countries varying in their situation, nature, and manners; to ascend mountains famous for their height and steepness; to cross rivers which visit different kingdoms in their passage; and to traverse plains with the peaceful retinue of a traveller, where the fate of empires has been decided. In particular, I could not help being struck with the contrast between Lydia and Cappadocia. The former entertains one with a view of well cultivated extended plains, hills crowned with the finest woods, and watered by gentle rivulets. The latter presents one with rough craggy mountains, whose sides are worn by the torrents rolling down them; vallies surrounded with dreadful precipices, and rivers which, in the rapidity of their course, overflow their banks, and lay waste the country for many parasangs. I met on the road the equipages of several young satraps, who have commands in the army which is to assemble near Sardis; and was grieved to find, that the number of covered litters and baggage-waggons, which tend to enervate the discipline of our troops, and

⁸² The erecting of post-offices for the conveyance of the king's and governor's dispatches was an institution of CYRUS'S. For a further account of this matter, see ROLLIN'S Ancient History, vol. ii.

retard their motions, was not decreased amongst them; but I have since heard, that upon the representation of HYDARNES, who is appointed general of those forces, strict orders have been issued to retrench the number of such magnificent encumbrances. On my arrival at Susa, I paid my first respects to the chamberlain HYDASPES, who, induced by that affectionate regard which he expresses for all who come recommended from thee, received me with open arms, and appointed me a lodging in the spacious apartments allotted him in the palace. I was by him introduced to GOBRYAS, whom we found dictating to the scribes about him dispatches to the different quarters of the empire. There is a politeness and humanity in the countenance and address of HYDASPES, which even at first sight gives you a love for his person, but the penetrating eye and sensible look of GOBRYAS, his head grown grey in the service of his prince, and the dignity of his whole appearance, inspire a respect, not less due to the merits of his character than the eminence of his station. That great minister, after reading your letters, and expressing the satisfaction he always receives from them, entered into conversation with me for three hours on the posture of affairs in Greece. During the time it lasted, I was doubtful which most to admire, his condescension in hearing me discourse upon subjects wherein he was so much my superior, or the extent of his capacity, which presented

every thing to his view ; and the exactness of his judgment , which suffered no particular to escape him unexamined or unaccounted for. I find by the idea he has formed of CLEON's character, and the questions he asked me relating to him, he thinks that turbulent Athenian may either be brought over to the Persian interest, or at least made use of advantageously , in regard to the great project which he has in view, of establishing the tranquillity of the empire , by weakening the Grecian states through the means of one another. He seems extremely impatient for the arrival of the Lacedæmonian embassy, and apprehensive that if a blow is struck on either side before Persia has taken her part in the war, the contending republics will conclude a sudden peace: but he added, that as the jealousies which occasioned this rupture would continue, he scarcely thought it would be durable. I endeavoured, in obedience to thy instructions, to discover how far he would comply with thy desire of being recalled from thy hazardous employment; but from the manner in which he received the hints I let fall, and the unanimous opinion of thy other friends, I think it by no means proper to press that affair any farther at present. When our conference was ended, he told me he hoped the court of Susa would afford pleasures sufficient to detain me here some time; not, added he smiling, that we will keep you as an hostage for your uncle's fidelity; but since in two or three months we

may have occasion to send him dispatches of the highest importance, I would willingly secure so trusty and expeditious a messenger as yourself to convey them. I replied, I should expect his permission and commands before I thought of returning to Athens; and so took my leave.

Amidst the variety of objects to engage my attention here, I have not been unmindful, as far as opportunity served, to inquire into the points which thou gavest me in charge; viz. the continuance of thy enemies practices, and the state of parties at the court. As to the first, I am well assured, that the interest of GOBRYAS, so seasonably exerted in your behalf, and the expressions which the king himself used in your favor, were more than sufficient to confound their malevolent designs. But depend upon it, the malice of TERIBAZUS, whatever countenance he puts on, is by no means diminished; he still resents the disappointment of his chimerical alliance, which he attributes to thy artifice; and whenever his power can second his inclination, thou art like to feel the effects of his displeasure; so true is the old maxim, that those who commit an injury can never forgive. The animosities between him and GOBRYAS, which were carried on with great warmth on both sides, are now to all outward appearance subsided, in obedience to the king's express direction, who sent for them into his apartment, and exhorted them to unite, at this

important juncture, in carrying on his service;
“ And if there must be a contention between
“ you, (said the king,) let it be in promoting
“ such measures as tend to my honor and the
“ public welfare.”

Your patron is thought to have carried a great point in bringing ARTAPHERNES into the council of seven, when the interest of TRISAPHERNES, master of the horse, was strongly espoused by TERIBAZUS. In few words, I take the interests of these two ministers to lie thus: GOBRYAS is strongly supported by a personal share in the king's favor, and the general esteem which the integrity of his behaviour, and his experience in business, have gained him throughout the East. TERIBAZUS relies on his address in creating dependants to himself, his never-failing management of court-intrigues, and the interest which he always takes care to cultivate with those ladies whose charms at any time make the deepest impression on his master. Whilst he pays the most servile court to the reigning monarch, he neglects not recommending himself to the future one, by the means of PHARNALYAS, chief eunuch to XERXES⁸³. That young prince affords but

⁸³ History confirms the characters which CHARICLES gives of these princes. XERXES, who succeeded his father, reigned but a few days, being assassinated by his brother SOGDIANUS, after a debauch, in which he had drunk to excess. The latter usurped the crown, but soon made himself so unpopular by his many acts of cruelty, that almost the whole empire joined in supporting

a disagreeable prospect to Persia. Shut up in the inmost recesses of his palace, he devotes his whole life to effeminate pleasures; bestowing his confidence and bounties on those only who can heighten luxury with most elegance, and keep his vicious inclinations perpetually alive by fresh scenes of debauchery. Alike regardless of the happiness of nations, which will one day be intrusted to his care, and the wise admonitions of his father, he plunges out of one course of riot into another, without any real inclination to virtue, or even sense of shame. SOGDIANUS, the eldest of the king's illegitimate children, is remarkable for an outward generosity and openness of temper, is fond of manly sports, and affects making himself agreeable to the soldiery; but those who know him best, assure me he is a master of the art of dissimulation, and has at the bottom a great mixture of brutality and roughness. OCHUS still continues in the government of Hyrcania, where he behaves himself to the general satisfaction of the people ⁸⁴. It is remarked, that the provinces never enjoyed a state of such profound tranquillity; which is attributed, in a great measure, to the exact observance of an excellent regulation established by our ancient monarchs; viz. the sending of

the claim of OCHUS, who took the name of DARIUS NOTHUS, and was one of the wisest and best monarchs that ever sat on the Persian throne. Note by the Translator.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

inspectors, of approved justice and discernment, annually through the empire, to examine the behaviour of the governors, and hear the complaints of the subjects.

Thus have I laid before you the present face of things in this court, with more freedom than your Persian friends would venture to do, and with an impartiality (unbiaſſed, as I am, to any ſide) which will make amends for the other deficiencies of this narration. If I were not ſenſible how much you prefer the real offices of reſpect to the moſt eloquent profeſſions of them, I might lengthen out this letter by acknowledgments of your kindneſs to me at Athens, and the recommendations with which you accompanied me hither. Give me leave, however, to ſay this, that I ſhall think myſelf unworthy the near relation I bear to you, when I ceaſe making your virtues the pattern of my actions, and your inſtructions the rule of my conduct.

P.

The End of the ſixth Year of the Peloponneſian War.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

